



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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17 December 1990

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Chad

First Wave of Strikes Under New Government Noted

AB1612190690 Paris AFP in French 1620 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Ndjamen, 16 Dec (AFP)—The first wave of strikes in Chad, since Idriss Deby's accession to power, was sparked yesterday by personnel of the Agency for Air Navigation Safety in Africa and Madagascar (ASECNA), according to official sources. Some strikers were taken, without violence, to the premises of the Chadian military police yesterday before they were released. ASECNA personnel were demanding a refund of their contributions to the war effort, installed for years by former President Hissein Habre's regime.

As soon as he took power, the new strong man of Ndjamen announced that contributions toward the war effort, collected under Hissein Habre's regime in spite of the military aid given by certain friendly countries, notably France and the United States, had been abolished. The new authorities, however, specified that this extra-budgetary tax would no longer be deducted from civil servants' salaries starting from October, but contributions already deducted would not be refunded because the new government had decided to put them into state coffers. Yesterday ASECNA employees, whose contributions for the past six months have not been paid into the war effort special account, demanded the total refund of their money.

The government ultimatum called for resuming work yesterday afternoon, but the strike seemed to be continuing later this afternoon because this morning Radio Chad was calling on ASECNA leaders to resume work.

Politician Gives Up Intention To Form Party

AB1412192890 Paris AFP in French 2133 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Ndjamen, 12 Dec (AFP)—A Chadian politician, Abderaman Koulamallah, indicated today that he had given up "announcing" officially the formation of a party other than that of Idriss Deby, the new Chadian head of state. During a chat with a few foreign newsmen, Mr. Koulamallah declared that Mr. Deby had asked him to cancel a news conference with the "purpose of forming a political party" or "he would be compelled to take repressive measures which he wished to avoid."

According to Mr. Koulamallah, Mr. Deby made these remarks during a telephone conversation. Earlier the head of state gave him his direct telephone number so that he could call. Speaking to AFP, a close associate of President Deby who is also a member of the Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) denied that any such conversation ever took place. Mr. Koulamallah might have talked with Mr. Baal Zahr, the president's permanent under secretary, according to this source.

Questioned by AFP, Mr. Baal Zahr stated that President Deby and his movement had "unequivocally opted" for the multiparty system but pointed out that there was the need "to define the rules of the game." He explained that the

head of state had directed Mahamat Saleh Adoum, minister of interior, to prepare "an ordinance" defining "a framework" for "the recognition of parties" so the latter could "file their bylaws." "We must determine how many signatures" are required to enable a party to be formed and a "background check" to be conducted, he added.

Mr. Koulamallah assured that a "working group" made up of a dozen members of his initial party was to have been set up tomorrow evening around the vice president of the Council of State (government) and the vice president of the MPS, Mr. Maldoum Bada Abbas. This working group was to prepare "a document defining the future of the multiparty system" in Chad, according to Mr. Koulamallah.

He affirmed that President Deby recognized "the de facto existence" of his organization as a "group" and not as a "party" as long as it "does not come out publicly." Mr. Koulamallah had intended to call his organization the "Democratic Union of Chad."

Rwanda

Rwandan Patriotic Front Offensive in North

AB1712103090 Paris AFP in English 0933 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Kabale, Uganda, Dec 17 (AFP)—Rebels in Rwanda are battling government forces in several areas near the border with Uganda and have captured the border post of Kagima, according to residents on the Ugandan side. The northern Rwandan village of Kaniga, a few kilometres from the border, on Sunday came under heavy mortar fire which could be heard from the Ugandan village of Rwene said the correspondent. The firing seemed to be moving deeper into Rwanda.

Rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), who invaded north-eastern Rwanda from Uganda in October, took Kagima on Thursday after a two-day battle that left an estimated 60 government troops dead, villagers on the Ugandan side of the border said. Rebel forces were seen advancing towards Rukono, 15 kilometres (nine miles) inside Rwanda, suggesting that they could be trying to link up with other rebels hiding in the Akagera national park in north-east Rwanda, residents of the Ugandan border village of Kampinga said. They said "a large number of rebels" were on the move, but could not give any figure.

Sporadic mortar fire apparently coming from the Bulindi tea factory could be heard from the main border post of Katuna on Sunday, the AFP correspondent said, though Rwandan troops seemed to be in control of the area. Residents on the Ugandan side of the border said the RPF had apparently launched a fresh offensive on December 5, when they attacked government troops about four kilometres (two-and-a-half miles) from the Ugandan border district of Kamwezi.

Local people who watched the fighting from the Kamwezi hills said hundreds of rebels had battled the Rwandan Army for about three hours. One man said up to 20 government

troops had been killed, and a local journalist who visited the battleground two days later said he counted 16 corpses near four burned-out army jeeps.

Official Hands Over Detained Ugandan Army 'Spy'

*EA1512161290 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1115 GMT 15 Dec 90*

[Text] An Ugandan Army spy was yesterday handed over to the Gisoro officials. The extradition was at Cyanika on the Rwanda-Uganda border during a meeting there between the Ruhengeri prefect, Charles Nzabagerageza, and the deputy prefect of the Ugandan subprefecture of Gisoro. The Ugandan forces secret agent, (Fred Ahirwe), was captured by the Rwandan Army nine days ago on Rwandan territory, in Cyanika region. At that time, he had a large-calibre gun and maps of Rwandan troop positions in the region. While in detention in Ruhengeri, the Ugandan press [words indistinct] and he uttered words of thanks on his release from the prison. (Ahirwe), in fact, declared that he had been well treated [words indistinct].

Prefect Meets With Burundian Counterpart 13 Dec

*EA1412221690 Kigali Domestic Service in French
0430 GMT 14 Dec 90*

[Excerpts] Rwandan MP's have once again vigorously condemned the aggression launched against our country. [passage omitted]

The October War had the initial effect of causing people to flee the country. Yesterday Kigali Prefect Emmanuel Bagambiki left for Kirundo to meet his counterpart, Aloys Rubuka, to arrange the repatriation of about 500 people who had taken refuge in Burundi's Kirundo Province. Here is a report from Gaspard Gahigi, our special correspondent in Kirundo from the Regional Center for Information.

[Gahigi] Three objectives motivated the visit: to inform his counterpart and the entire people of Burundi of the events following the 1 October aggression; to thank the Bujumbura government for its support during difficult times; and to study questions of common interest.

On the first point, Prefect Bagambiki declared that there were no longer any aggressors in Rwandan territory, adding that those who had not perished on the battlefield had been chased out of Rwanda toward Uganda from where they had been launching attacks since 1 October and from where they were still desperately trying to launch incursions into the northern part of the country.

The prefect hailed the attitude of the Burundi Government and people toward Rwanda during the aggression. Security agreements were respected, and President Pierre Buyoya's promise that no aggression would be perpetrated in Rwanda over the Burundi border was kept. Prefect Bagambiki on behalf of the people of the Kigali Prefecture and the entire

Rwandan people heartily thanked the Burundi Government and people who, by doing what they did, had contributed to our victory.

The victory was mainly the fruit of the courage of our Armed Forces assisted by the solidarity of the people, who remained united in spite of the campaign of incitement mounted by the assailants to divide us. In this respect, he deplored the case of the 108 peasant livestock owners who fled the Gashora and Ngenda Communes in fear to Kirundo directly after the first shot was fired in Kagitumba. Prefect Bagambiki asked his Kirundo counterpart to study with him the practical ways of effecting a quick return of the peasants. He criticized the adventurers who had fled, thus increasing the number of refugees from 108 to 540.

Answering questions posed by cadres of Kirundo Province, Prefect Bagambiki explained the mechanism of the ethnic and regional balance in Rwanda, the position of the Rwandan Government on the question of refugees, and the reasons behind the exclusion of ethnicity from identity cards. In conclusion, he informed the Kirundo cadres that the enemy had, in addition to combat on the ground, attacked us at the diplomatic and media levels, referring to a number of false and defamatory assertions and rumors. He said in this respect that the Rwandan Government had given no credence to the false rumors according to which the aggressors had been recruited and trained in Burundi territory to attack our country. The falseness of the rumors was also confirmed by the Kirundo governor, who invited his Rwandan counterpart to conduct verifications on the spot.

Zaire

Canadian Boycott Plan Said 'Provocative'

AB1512193290 Dakar PANA in English 1342 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 15 DEC (AZAP/PANA)—Zairian officials have described Canada's declared intention to boycott the 1991 Francophone Summit due to alleged human rights violations as unfriendly and provocative. While awaiting to officially informed by Ottawa through diplomatic channels, the surprised Zairian officials hoped Canada would change its position in view of the on-going changes in the Central African nation.

Their surprise has been compounded by the fact that investigations into the May 1990 events at Lubumbashi University (southeastern Zaire), which seems to have prompted the Canadian decision, were going on normally and a public hearings is expected soon. The investigators are only awaiting the additional testimony of members of Parliament who were asked to conduct more investigations on the affair in their own areas.

In addition, the democratisation process announced by the Zairian president on 24 April is also on schedule, the Zairian officials said.

They said the Canadian firm position was surprising because it came the same day Parliament adopted a draft law on the organization and functioning of political parties under the country's programme towards integral multipartism.

Somalia

Information Minister Urges Peace Negotiations

EA1512210490 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1700 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Comrade Omar Mohamed Abdirahman, the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] minister of information and national guidance, has said that the Somali Government is repeating its call to the opposition inside and outside the country, especially those engaged in fighting, to take part in peace negotiations aimed at bringing an end to the current problems in the country. He said they should view the peace negotiations as a way of averting a bloodbath in Somalia.

Addressing a news conference at the headquarters of the Ministry of Information, the minister spoke about the current security situation, rumor-mongering against the country and political changes in Somalia, noting that the government's call was aimed at resolving the problems and thereby averting a bloodbath. He said the new government's policies were aimed at achieving peace, adding that this was not as a result of weakness.

Comrade Omar Mohamed Abdirahman denied a baseless report by some foreign press and media that rebels were only 50 km away from the capital city, Mogadishu; that the government had lost control of the administration of the country; and that the government itself had died. The minister, however, admitted that in some parts of the country there are civil, tribal, and bandit wars, in addition to the war by the armed rebels.

The minister said these groups are bent on looting public and private property, thereby creating insecurity. He said there were some members of the opposition, however, who refrain from engaging in any activities that are against the interests of the country and its people. He also spoke about the political initiatives the government has launched, especially the constitutional changes which, he said, guarantee every citizen the right of expression verbally, in writing, or in drawings, without fear for their freedom. He further said that the constitution allows for the formation of many parties and freedom of the press, adding that the people's assembly has passed the multiparty law, and is now debating the press law. Asked about the recently passed law, the minister said that if any country faced such problems as ours, it was bound to pass such a law to protect the country and its people.

Rebels Reject Appeal

EA1712110490 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Excerpts] The so-called minister of information of Mohamed Siad Barre's regime yesterday issued an appeal to members of the opposition. Omar Mohamed Abdirahman, the earth-scorcher's [Siad Barre's] minister of information, said in his statement that the Somali

Government wanted to hold talks with the Somali opposition, especially those engaged in fighting against the government. The aim of such peace talks, he said, was to avert a bloodbath in Somalia.

We have known all along for whom Omar Abdirahman speaks. The Somali opposition will under no circumstances respond to this appeal for peace talks. Why? Because the position of the armed rebels, namely the Somali National Movement, the Somali Patriotic Movement, and the United Somali Congress has not changed, and is irreversible. We have already explained the policies of the righteous Somali fighters, and they will remain unchanged. Our position was and remains that we should not hold peace negotiations or enter into a dialogue with Mohamed Siad Barre on issues concerning Somali interests, since he no longer controls the country and has become powerless. His appeal for peace negotiations was not made out of patriotism but despair. Mohamed Siad Barre has even lost effective control of Hamar [Mogadishu] itself. How then can one be expected to believe that Mohamed Siad Barre, the man who has lost control of the city, has a great desire to avert a bloodbath and bring about political stability?

Now, what is this bloodbath he is talking about? He should not forget the blood of the thousands of innocent victims he has shed. Is he not the same person who kills the young and old, children and elders? These people he wants to protect are none other than those exiled in neighboring countries, especially Ethiopia, who were forced out of their country by Mohamed Siad Barre's air raids. Some of these exiled Somalis live abroad in utter destitution. The crimes he has committed against the Somali masses are innumerable.

The latest information we have received is that Mohamed Siad Barre has flown in mercenaries from South Africa and other countries. These mercenaries were the ones who bombarded the country's northern regions with British made [name indistinct] aircraft. We have received a report from a reliable source which says that earth-scorcher Mohamed Siad Barre has brought in 78 mercenaries at a cost of \$[figure indistinct] with the sole purpose of oppressing the innocent Somali masses. These mercenaries will pilot the same planes used in the bombardment of Hargeysa, Burco, and other major towns in the northern regions in 1988. [passage omitted]

Despite his efforts to strengthen his military muscle by bringing in foreign mercenaries and his bogus peace appeals, the Somali liberation forces see the barrel of a gun as the means of getting rid of Mohamed Siad Barre. We say that the only way of getting rid of Mohamed Siad Barre's armed thugs and henchmen is through the barrel of a gun.

SNM Rebel Radio Gives Battle Reports

EA1612205890 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Ever since it was formed, the Somali National Movement [SNM] has always and everywhere, by day

and by night, mounted merciless attacks on minor enemy bases to destroy the enemy soldiers. The SNM controls most of the northern regions and has always acted to push back the enemy. As a result of such military action, the SNM fighters have managed to bring most parts of Senag Region under its control. The SNM fighters of the Third (Base) have embarked on large scale operations against the small number of conscripts. Accordingly listeners, we present you with reports on the latest battles.

Battle operations carried out by the SNM fighters of the Third Base: During an attack carried out by enemy soldiers on (Qodijaf), the enemy lost 20 people, and many others were wounded. A [word indistinct] 23 and a vehicle carrying it was burned. One armored personnel carrier was captured. During the fighting, three SNM fighters, may God rest their souls in eternal peace, were killed.

In another operation, the enemy attacked (Karis). During the ensuing battle, the (righteous) fighters killed 18 and wounded over 35 enemy soldiers. The SNM lost six of its men, and one fighter was wounded.

Furthermore, SNM fighters undertook a secret operation at (Soodhe), burning a truck and a vehicle mounted with a 23-mm gun. Prior to this operation, 60 enemy soldiers were killed, and 53 wounded at (Soodhe). A vehicle mounted with a 23-mm gun was captured and one army [words indistinct]. During the fighting, 13 SNM fighters were killed, may God rest their souls in eternal peace, and 12 were wounded.

Some of the latest military engagements took place at Laba and in some areas of the Red Sea, during which the SNM fighters captured a [word indistinct] on which there were nine soldiers and set free [words indistinct] traveling with them. The enemy forces also suffered heavy losses at Erigabo, (Udur), Arbati, (Biyo Guduud), and many other places.

Uganda

Museveni Orders Police To Withdraw From Campus

EA1512093890 Kampala Domestic Service in English
1900 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] President Yoweri Museveni has ordered the withdrawal of police forces from around the Makerere University campus. This is in response to the letter written to the president by the Makerere Students Guild president, Mr. Mao Nobert, in which the University Guild president assured the president that all university students will observe law and order and the peaceful resolution of disputes. The letter by the guild president, Mr. Mao Nobert, reads:

Your Excellency: On behalf of the Students Guild, I would like to express our appreciation for the several measures that have been implemented under your personal initiative in order to bring about a permanent solution to the present crisis. We welcome, too, your specific assurances that there shall be no steps taken against the student leadership or any one student as per the cabinet directive. In addition, we welcome your decision to remove the police forces from the campus and to permit free movement of all students. We would like to reiterate our commitment to democratic dialogue on all issues relating to the university and to give our assurance to you that we are committed to the observation of law and order and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

We further assure you that the removal of the police forces shall not lead to any wanton or indisciplined action on our part and indeed we shall maintain, always, a sober outlook and principled methodology in seeking the resolution of all disputes. We undertake to return to class and to [word indistinct] peacefully only as and when the need arises and to look forward to the permanent resolution of the present crisis.

De Klerk Discusses Plans for Future Reforms

MB1512191390 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
14 Dec 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Govt To Set Up Nonracial Town Councils"]

[Text] Multiparty talks with a view to a constitutional conference would start next year, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He also indicated that the present local-government system would soon make way for joint, nonracial structures.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony of the University of Stellenbosch where he received an honorary doctorate, Mr. de Klerk said moves towards negotiations were imminent.

He also confirmed that discriminatory legislation was to be repealed in the coming session of Parliament and that security legislation was being reviewed.

Mr. de Klerk said the political process in South Africa had irrevocably been placed on a new road.

He said the fact that developments had already called for great adaptations and that it had, for some, even been a traumatic experience, was understandable.

The road that had been chosen was not an easy or clearly defined one. It called for audacity, initiative, new thinking and imaginative deeds. It also demanded patience, perspective and understanding for uncertainties.

The focus had now started to shift from stumbling blocks to solutions.

The Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would receive attention in the 1991 session of Parliament.

Security legislation was being reviewed with the aim of ensuring freedom of political participation by all and the resultant amendment in 1991 of, among others, the Internal Security Act.

In addition to this, other new initiatives were being considered, one of them being the area of local government.

The strategy of radicals to destroy existing structures at local level had to be stopped.

Progress had already been made with the planning of a new system which would acknowledge the concept of "one city, one tax base."

Now interim steps and negotiation initiatives aimed at the speedy institution of joint local government management between all the communities in towns and cities were needed.

"The question is not if this must happen, but how."

Intensive planning was being done on this and further announcements would be made at a later stage.

In the meantime his call to all those involved was to stop the futile and senseless disruption of community structures which caused so much pain and suffering, especially in the black communities.

Mr. de Klerk said the greatest challenge for 1991 would be to lay down methods and criteria for negotiation and to get these working.

The criteria should include:

—Inclusivity, that was representation for all political parties with proven support.

—A definition of the base on which decision-making during the negotiation process would take place.

—Agreement on the relationship between the negotiation process and the government process.

Mr. de Klerk said he was confident that good progress would be made with these matters. "The past year had shown that we do what we say. It will also be thus in 1991."

The Government would strictly implement its agreements with regard to security prisoners and exiles on condition that other parties kept to their obligations.

"We dare not and will not allow our country to be dragged along by violence, intimidation and mass hysteria fed by emotional propaganda, racism, distrust and fear. If necessary further impartial, strong step will be taken to ensure stability.

"If a new South Africa must provide hope and lasting peace for all its people then it must be characterised by the best and finest we believe in, it must be cleansed of what is unjust, racist and oppressive. It must open the doors to representation, freedom, prosperity and progress for all South Africans. It must avoid what has failed here and elsewhere."

Pik Botha Discusses Negotiations Process

MB1612054690 Johannesburg NEW NATION
in English 14-20 Dec 90 p 10

[From the "Face the Nation" column: "Pik Makes His Point"; "excerpts" of interview with Foreign Minister Pik Botha by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given]

[Text] NEW NATION: You have served under three successive heads of state. Will you briefly sketch the achievements and failures of these men, especially in terms of the democratic South Africa that we are now moving towards.

PIK BOTHA: History has a strange way of bringing to fall the true interpretation of events of the past.

President De Klerk came at the right moment to take up those things which were required in terms of the events

of central and Eastern Europe and in terms of the moral convictions of the people serving in the National Party.

NN: Given the great deal of suffering apartheid has caused and given that your government is said to be moving away from it, would you be willing to condemn apartheid as a crime against humanity?

PB: When we talk about apartheid I can give you the assurance that different people will attach different interpretations to it, and I think that is important to remember.

But, if we are to look at our history objectively, then we must all look at it that way. And then you must ask yourself, just as I must ask myself, whether we, in our treatment of black people have committed sins. I ask my black brothers: have you also not committed sins, if that is the point of departure? Otherwise we are going to find ourselves in the position where we just revive old hatreds and prejudices of the past.

There is no apartheid in the rest of Africa, where children—not black children, to me they are children—die of hunger, disease. Who should forgive whom for those deaths?

NN: You mentioned a moral conviction and historical events. What kind of moral conviction was required to begin to work at getting rid of apartheid?

PB: I left out something which I want you to try to understand. Apartheid was not applied in the way it was initially planned. In practice, its moral objective was never achieved and the results were, for me, at least morally unacceptable.

That is why I have been in politics since 1970, to get it changed. I am very happy that it is.

NN: What is your comment on the ANC's [African National Congress] warning that, if the government fails to control the security forces, the talks could be in jeopardy?

PB: My impressions are that president De Klerk and (Nelson) Mandela are both on track as far as the talks are concerned.

They both expressed their commitment to the objectives on which they agree. I do not think you can, in our present circumstances, have a situation where everyone will sing the same tune.

NN: If the Government was serious about finding a settlement, it should have already held talks with organisations other than the ANC.

PB: Well, I happen to know individuals closely connected with the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] and some of them became my friends, personal friends.

NN: Can you tell us their names?

PB: Believe me, I do not want to play off anybody, but I do have friends in their ranks. They might not be in the political leadership, but they certainly belong to that school.

I have had meetings with members of Azapo and the PAC and we call them informal meetings.

NN: The ANC and other liberation movements are putting forward a demand for a constituent assembly as the only means to arrive at a new government. Could this demand derail the talks?

PB: No, I do not think so. The whole idea of a constituent assembly is, on the face of it, a very logical one. But, let me ask you as a fellow South African: Can you, in the foreseeable future, see that kind of election taking place under peaceful circumstances in this country?

I think that what is needed is a conversation between the government and the PAC.

This should be considered a matter of importance to the PAC. I think they would be willing and would probably welcome us inviting them or saying to them: alright, gentlemen, we have heard you, now we shall have a round of talks about this, so that we can convey to you the problems that might be in the way of this, so that you can have a proper chance to evaluate your position.

NN: In other words, the government is not opposed to the idea of a constituent assembly. It simply wants to negotiate it with the various parties demanding it.

PB: No, we are against it and the PAC is for it. The ANC is not so strong on it. But, in any case, the rest of the world is not for it, because they know what is going to happen in this country.

They know it will delay talks, maybe for years. Because you can not just have an election of that nature overnight.

We need a cooling down period where the violence must stop. But, be that as it may, I say: parties that hold opposite views must talk. We and the ANC held opposite views on quite a number of things and after talks we came to an agreement.

This is what I am saying. But you cannot do so if you conduct your debates always through the National Party Congresses and the PAC conferences. You do not reach any agreement that way.

NN: An argument has been advanced that the NP does not need other political organisations to negotiate the ending of apartheid. It can just do that by itself and take the country back to 1948 and then get political organisations to come and negotiate on the constitution. What is your comment?

PB: My party has finally opened its membership to all South Africans. A black man can now be chairman of my

party branch. We are not looking in terms of colour as a factor in membership anymore.

We say to you: we do not look upon ourselves as a minority party. There is no reason why my party cannot become a majority party. Why not?

NN: Does this mean there won't be a white referendum to test the new constitution?

PB: That is a different matter. It is not a white referendum. When my party had the election last year—you know it—we made a commitment to the people who voted for us, that we will come back to you. Otherwise we would not have received the mandate to do what we are doing.

It is a question of a promise, a commitment which has nothing to do with the new South Africa anymore, but to honour a commitment that we gave.

That does not mean that the new constitution will not be submitted to the whole country.

NN: You have just reached an agreement with the ANC on a certain foreign policy issue. But it seems that the government's foreign policy is in conflict with that of the ANC. They advocate sanctions, you do not. They do not want air links with Kenya. Is there a way to reach agreement after holding totally antagonistic views?

PB: Not necessarily. These differences must be overcome. It was in this very room that prominent members of the ANC sat with me—not long ago—and I said to them: do you realise who is making the money out of the line now? And do you realise that it is in your interests to have more regular communication with Africa and to get Africans here to have more contact with you and me and everyone? They fully agreed with me.

NN: So the Kenyan flight was endorsed by the ANC?

PB: No, I did not say that. I am just trying to tell you that this is the way to reach agreement. You cannot simply keep on hammering on the same tune.

The same applies to sanctions. You know as well as I do who is paying the price. It is not really the whites. Go to history, they are getting the same salaries or more. The black people are paying the price. And I say to you today: The majority of black people do not support the ANC on this matter and they know it.

European Community Lifts Ban on New Investment

MB1512130490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1251 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Rome December 15 SAPA—The European Community on Saturday [15 Dec] lifted its ban on new investments in South Africa with immediate effect. British Prime Minister John Major said in Rome after the formal discussions among the 12 EC leaders.

"We recognise the huge changes President F.W. de Klerk has brought about, and say that the Community has agreed to immediately lift the investment ban imposed in 1986. Britain has been urging this for many months," he said.

A formal document setting out the EC's position on sanctions and South Africa was expected to be released soon.

Botha Says 'New Era'

MB1512135890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1348 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Pretoria Dec 15 SAPA—South Africa had entered a new era with the European Community's decision to lift the ban on new investments, Mr Pik Botha, the minister of foreign affairs, said on Saturday [15 Dec].

"The decision which has been taken by the EC, coincides with the South African Government's conviction that sanctions are crumbling. It is clear that the government's viewpoint that the process of change is irreversible is beginning to enjoy wider recognition. This also means that the state president's initiatives have started a dramatic reversal in South Africa's foreign relations. This will be to the advantage to all the people of South Africa, but also those in southern Africa," Mr Botha said.

"It is positive recognition for President F.W. de Klerk's courageous steps," he said.

"The decision of the 12 EEC countries must also be seen as an encouragement to all South African leaders, who swear off violence to reach their political goals, to work together closely to get the negotiations on the road towards a new constitution," he said.

DP Applauds Decision

MB1512130990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1247 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 15 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] on Saturday [15 Dec] welcomed the European Community's lifting of the ban on the new investment in the country. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl announced at a press briefing in Rome, Italy, that the EC would drop the investment ban as a reward for the reforms State President F.W. de Klerk had made in the past year.

"I am delighted and not in the least surprised. Indeed, I made this forecast two days ago and it was widely reported," said DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

"It is plainly right for the EC to reward SA [South Africa] for changes already made and also perfectly understandable that further changes are held back until the removal of apartheid is complete.

"It remains only to urge the president and government to move ahead with all possible speed towards the creation of a free and open society within South Africa," said the DP leader.

Buthelezi Comments

*MB1612103090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0956 GMT 16 Dec 90*

[SAPA PR WIRE SERVICE; statement issued by: Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party]

[Text] Ulundi, December 16, 1990. [dateline as received]
With ref: Request for comment on the lifting of the ban on new investments by the EEC.

Having *opposed* sanctions as vigorously as I did, it will come as no surprise that I thoroughly applaud this first move by the EEC. I am overjoyed that there is a glimmer of hope that new jobs can now be created; that the flagging South African economy is being given the boost it so desperately needs.

One only has to pick up a paper or listen to a news broadcast in South Africa to gauge the extent to which sanctions have cruelly affected all black communities in South Africa today.

The ripple effects of the suffering they have caused are now spilling over into white communities. The upsurge of violence, the robberies, the battering to death of old men and women is happening because there is unemployment, hunger and despair.

Sanctions, and apartheid, have pushed many people beyond human endurance. They have dehumanised children of God with legislature that, each in its own way here and abroad, has had evil repercussions. Two wrongs have not made anything right. I point an accusing finger at the architects of both hideous policies for the harm they have done.

The EEC has made a realistic assesment of the positive and irreversable political changes taking place in this country and it has quite correctly rewarded the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, for his bold initiatives.

This move away from punitive sanctions will, I think, constructively facilitate the forthcoming negotiation process because we haven't got in a hope in hell of negotiating a new and decent future for this country while jobs are dwindling and unemployed bandits terrorise our neighbourhoods.

One must still regret the stance being taken by the United Nations which has, yet again, shown itself out of step in assessing the true needs of Black South Africans in particular.

The UN purports to care about us while dictating the agendas of those who only have self-interest at heart. I say that the UN doesn't appear to give a fig about black pain in South africa.

I challenge the UN to really study child welfare figures which reveal that thousands of newborn black babies are being abandoned in South Africa because their starving and helpless mothers cannot care for them: They have no support mechanisms thanks to sanctions. Why don't they examine how many people Operation Hunger is feeding and why?

The UN is still sitting around playing politics with black people's lives and their dignity because the ANC [African National Congress]/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance has yet to tell them which way to jump. Quite frankly, its sickening. No doubt the ANC/SACP will be quick to try to manipulate the changing international mood, exemplified by the EEC, for their own propaganda purposes but the fact remains they called for sanctions and they got what they wanted.

The ANC/SACP said blacks were "prepared to suffer." Were they? Are they feeding the jobless? Has anybody seen officials of the ANC/SACP and all those who hawked sanctions around the world suffering?

I ask Western governments to now take very seriously my repeated requests for a Marshall aid-type economic plan for South Africa. We will not be able to create the multi-party democracy South Africans want—and they say they want for us—unless many millions, the poorest of the poor, can be helped very quickly. Poverty will be the enemy of democracy in this country.

If the West doesn't want South Africa to end up being yet another economic basket case in Africa, rulled over by socialist/Marxist demagogues, they had better come to our rescue to a considerable degree without further delay. Sanctions have caused untold harm and we must now start the long haul of building up, of recreating, that which was damaged and destroyed.

My final remarks are in memory of my dear friend the late Dr Alan Paton, the extraordinary author who shortly before his death had this to say about sanctions in his book "Save the Beloved Country":

"I take very seriously the teachings of the gospel, in particular the parables about giving drink to the thirsty and food to the hungry. It seems to me that Jesus attached supreme—indeed sacred—significance to such actions.

"Therefore, I will not help to cause any such suffering to any black person... To put it briefly, my conscience would not allow me to support disinvestment...

"I am told that, although I believe my views to be moral, they are, in fact, immoral because I will not take the side of those black people who want disinvestment. This is a new interpretation of morality to me, that I ought to adopt certain views because some influential black people hold them...

"Most of these black South Africans will not be the ones to suffer hunger and thirst. Many of them are sophisticated, highly educated, safely placed...

"I do not hold these views because they are acceptable—or not acceptable—to either black people or white people. I do not consider that the welfare of black people or white people is the supreme consideration. The supreme consideration to me is the welfare of my country and therefore the welfare of all its people..."

I know this wonderful human being, who is no longer with us but who cared so fervently about South Africa, would also rejoice if he could, that one small step has been taken to ease the pain and the suffering.

Nobody listened to him then, hopefully they will now at long last.

ANC Says Stand 'Unfortunate'

MB1512133590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1306 GMT 15 Dec 90

[By David Geybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 15 SAPA—The EC decision to drop the investment ban against South Africa showed the European Community was not convinced by the ANC's argument for the maintenance of sanctions, ANC Publicity Secretary Dr Pallo Jordan told SAPA on Saturday [15 Dec].

"It is unfortunate. It shows the EEC is not convinced by our arguments. We will just have to argue again to convince them," Dr Jordan said. The ANC publicity secretary emphasised that the ANC would say when the rest of the world could lift sanctions.

"If and when outside countries reconsider the issue of sanctions, they should do that in conjunction with the democratic forces in this country," Mr Jordan added.

"In other words, it should be on our initiative that sanctions are dropped. We will say when they are no longer necessary."

Asked how long the ANC could maintain a position calling for total sanctions, especially in light of the continuing developments in South Africa over the past year, Mr Jordan said: We have maintained the position of sanctions for the past 28 years.

"Although the EEC didn't support us (throughout the full period), we maintained this position for 28 years."

The ANC position would be maintained until the "basic institutions of apartheid" had been abolished, Mr Jordan said.

He said there had been overwhelming opposition to dropping sanctions amongst the more than 1,600 delegates.

"They rejected it as is their right," Dr Jordan emphasised. "It was not the leadership's position that was rejected," he pointed out.

The resolution to maintain sanctions, he explained further, was drafted by the commission dealing with international issues.

"The ANC National Executive Committee just met to look at it, and then the conference endorsed it."

Asked whether the continuing violence wracking South Africa played the pivotal role in the decision of delegates to adopt a so-called hardline approach on sanctions, Dr Jordan said:

"The important and the essential thing, if you look at the resolution, is it says that institutions of apartheid are still in place. And, amongst other things, it says that there is violence."

The "basic institutions of apartheid" was still the biggest obstruction to the ANC calling for the lifting of sanctions, according to Dr Jordan.

The resolution on maintaining sanctions, which was moved by ANC President Oliver Tambo, reads:

"Cognisant of the necessity to counteract the growing perception that (President F.W.) de Klerk and his government should be rewarded for recent reforms, aware that the basic institutions of apartheid are still firmly in place, that the South African Government continues to use violence and police repression to suppress legitimate political and civic actions, alarmed over the orchestrated violence against defenceless citizens, especially in African residential areas, in which elements of the SA security establishment are deeply implicated, noting that many of the obstacles to genuine negotiations such as the Internal Security Act and others, remain in the statute books and are still vigorously enforced. We therefore resolve that the existing sanctions package be maintained."

The media, at a press conference, was shown a video of the proceedings of the consultative conference at that stage. Mr Tambo's words were met by thunderous applause, and a standing ovation by the overwhelming majority of delegates. A smile broke out on Mr Tambo's face when the clapping continued, and he too began clapping.

Mr Joe Slovo, ANC executive member and general secretary of the SA Communist Party (SACP), who had introduced the ANC president before he moved the resolution, then said to the delegates:

"I take it comrades that this resolution has 1,603 seconds," to which there was wild applause again.

Mr Slovo added: "On second thoughts, (I) ask whether there is anyone in the hall who would like to speak on it (resolution), one way or the other."

There was a silence.

"No-one. The resolution is unanimously adopted," Mr Slovo said. And again applause.

PAC Official Comments

*MB1512160090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1545 GMT 15 Dec 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 15 SAPA—Asked to comment on the lifting of the ban on new investments in South Africa, PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] secretary for projects, relief and development, Mr Mark Shinnars, said Europeans have to be reminded that historically they were directly responsible for the mess in South Africa.

"They cannot escape this fact. We expect Europeans to support any measures aimed at rectifying the country's mess," he said.

Azapo Terms Decision 'Disgusting'

*MB1512143190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1415 GMT 15 Dec 90*

[Text] Cape Town Dec 15 SAPA—Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] President Prof Itumeleng Mosala on Saturday [15 Dec] described the EC's decision to lift the ban on new investments in South Africa as "disgusting."

"The EC decision was to be expected because white people support other white people. This will be a lesson to black liberation movements to know that in the struggle they are on their own," he added.

The lifting of the ban, he said, would strengthen the apartheid government, thus making fundamental change impossible.

SACOB Applauds Decision

*MB1512201190 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1900 GMT 15 Dec 90*

[Text] The South African Chamber of Business [SACOB] said that the governments of the European Community were to be congratulated for having taken the path of economic realism. SACOB said that they had in effect given tangible recognition to the bold reform processes initiated by President de Klerk.

ANC's Tambo Addresses 50,000 at Soweto Rally

*MB1612153390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1510 GMT 16 Dec 90*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 16 SAPA—It was time to make a clean break with the past and for whites to join hands with their ANC [African National Congress] compatriots in the struggle against apartheid, the movement's president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, said on Sunday [16 Dec]. He addressed a crowd of 50,000 that had gathered for a special welcome-back rally at the First National Bank Stadium near Soweto. Mr. Tambo was loudly cheered and applauded when he called "on our white compatriots to join hands with us."

"Fellow South Africans we have it within our power to translate this land into a country of plenty for all where apartheid will be a bad memory of the past."

He called "in the names of millions of struggling South Africans" on those causing the violence to "stop this mayhem forthwith. Whoever and wherever you are, you must realise that by spilling the blood of kith and kin you are cutting your own throat."

This was the last chance to avert a disaster which may visit generations to come.

Mr. Tambo thanked the many countries and nations which had assisted the ANC in its three decades of exiled struggle and said the international community had a duty not to relax pressures on Pretoria until the apartheid crime against humanity had been removed.

"For as long as apartheid exists all South Africans have an obligation to wage a relentless struggle against the regime. It must be a struggle on all fronts in which none of us should spare limb or courage in advancing this noble cause."

He said the ANC was willing to ensure that transition to a democratic society was smooth and painless.

"It is up to others to play their role constructively," Mr. Tambo said.

Referring to the consultative conference just completed, he said this was another landmark on the path to freedom.

"It has vindicated the belief that we have both the political capacity and the will to win freedom for ourselves."

"We will meet the challenge of the day," he said to ululating support from packed stands.

Reportage From ANC Consultative Conference**Resolutions on Violence, Talks**

*MB1612122490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1127 GMT 16 Dec 90*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 16 SAPA—The ANC's [African National Congress] Consultative Conference wound up its proceedings on Sunday after passing resolutions structured around a programme of mass action and plans to build defence committees against violence.

In its resolutions, it confirmed its view that violence was aimed at undermining and destabilising the ANC. This violence ensured the government could dictate the pace of transition in line with its own agenda and was orchestrated through "various agencies of the government."

The conference also gave the national executive the go-ahead for talks about talks, but resolved that this was subject to consultation with the ANC membership on all major issues.

Having confirmed the continued call for sanctions against South Africa, the conference resolved that the academic and cultural boycott should be reviewed with the aim of ensuring it became "inclusive of institutions that genuinely promote principles of non-racialism, democracy and unity."

In the sporting arena, all efforts should be made to promote the positions of the "democratic sports organisations" with regard to the moratorium and international competition and sports development programmes.

Dealing with negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle, the conference noted in its resolution that negotiations were only one form of the struggle for the transfer of power to the people. It further endorsed the negotiations strategy set out in the Harare Declaration.

Noting that the "regime" had not removed obstacles contained in the declaration, especially regarding the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the repeal of security legislation and the termination of political trials—thus failing to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation—the NEC [National Executive Committee] was mandated to proceed with talks about talks.

The NEC must involve its "revolutionary allies" in these negotiations and create a comprehensively structured negotiating team, including working groups and researchers.

The resolution warned the government that unless all obstacles were removed by April 30 next year, the ANC would consider suspending the negotiation process.

Prior to this, the conference decided, it would engage in a programme of mass action in order to achieve its objectives as soon as possible.

This note of warning was repeated in a declaration approved by conference which says: "Our patience with this regime is running out. We demand that this regime removes all obstacles in the way of genuine negotiations forthwith."

Comments on Negotiations

MB1612165890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1338 GMT 16 Dec 90

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 16 SAPA—The first legal ANC [African National Congress] consultative conference inside South Africa in 31 years ended on Sunday [16

Dec] afternoon with a clear and militant message that unless the government removes all obstacles negotiations proper will not begin.

"Our patience with this regime is running out," the conference declaration, read at the closing session by Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani declared.

"We demand that the regime removes all obstacles in the way of genuine negotiations forthwith. We say to the international community and the regime that should real progress in this regard not be evident, we shall not hesitate to direct the NEC [National Executive Community] to suspend talks."

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela though, in his final address to the conference, said the ANC was still committed to negotiations. To loud applause, he said: "The overwhelming majority of our people and delegates here support the negotiations between the ANC and the government."

Spelling out the militant mood, which prevailed at the conference, Mr Mandela added: "There have been certain suggestions made here which we fully accept, like no discussions on the Constitution until all obstacles are removed, until all exiles return; until all political prisoners are released and until all repressive legislation is repealed."

The conference position was echoed by Mr Joe Slovo, ANC NEC member and SA Communist Party general secretary, at a press conference after the final session. The entire NEC, including Mr Mandela and President Oliver Tambo, attended the press conference.

The ANC was asked whether the delegates had set any deadline for the government to meet the ANC's demands.

"The main question is not time in relation to the government, but action in relation to the government," Mr Slovo answered.

"It seemed to be the clear view of the conference that in order to get negotiations proper going, much much more has to be done than has been done up to now.

"And you heard in the speech of our deputy president (Mr Mandela) that until some of these steps that we've been talking about in the 'talks about talks' are taken by the government, we don't see the prospect of moving into negotiations proper."

Significantly too, the ANC conference declared 1991 a year of "mass action for the transfer of power to the people."

Mr Hani, in an exclusive interview with SAPA, spoke of the significance of the declaration.

"It is an important statement because we believe that the only force that is going to force the government to act on

the question of negotiations with speed is the people. The people can only bring about that situation by engaging this regime in a variety of mass actions along a number of issues."

The conference resolution on violence clearly stated that mass action campaigns will be embarked on to pressurise the government "to bring an end to this carnage."

Mr Hani said the mass action campaign would take the form of protest at various levels, including national, regional and local.

He added: "The leadership of the ANC at all levels will have to have their attention focused on the burning issues of the day.

"The essence of the whole call for mass action in 1991 is to galvanise our people into action so that they become their own liberators."

Asked what the mood of the conference was, Mr Hani said: "It was certainly a mood of militancy. It's a mood of the fighting people, a people that are very impatient. They've waited so long, and they don't want the process of democracy to be delayed anymore. I sensed a feeling that our people are ready to make sacrifices for the achievement of their objectives," Mr Hani said.

Mr Hani added he believed the three-day conference outside Johannesburg had proved "a triumph in democracy."

"It has been really a staggering triumph for the voice of the people, for the right of the people—the members of the ANC—to chart the way forward and to determine the parameters of our struggle."

Asked whether the conference had found a balance between the issue of negotiations, on the one side, and mass action on the other, which according to senior ANC members before the conference was the biggest challenge facing delegates, Mr Hani said:

"I think it has been found. People were very open and frank. They felt that the negotiations which are taking place must be about people's demands. They don't want their voices to be silenced. They feel that those who are participating in negotiations—the (ANC) leaders and the regime—should feel the decisions of the people as they march, as they protest, as they demonstrate, as they embark on whatever form of action."

Mr Hani added: "The masses should determine the course and the outcome of the negotiations, because the outcome must be a democratic South Africa."

Mr Mandela, in his closing address, said the conference had been marked by frankness and criticism, especially of the ANC national executive, from the 1,603 delegates present.

"For three full days you took part in one or other of the six commissions. You spoke out frankly and brought to our attention a host of witnesses and even mistakes."

Delegates had made "vital suggestions" to improve the ANC.

"There are weaknesses and mistakes, and some of these are very serious," Mr Mandela admitted.

"In these discussions delegates expressed serious reservations on the way in which we handled issues like negotiations, the suspension of the armed action, the violence in which thousands of our people have been slaughtered, the neglect of our soldiers on whom the freedom of our country depends, on the homeland system and other issues. The leadership has grasped the principle that they are the servants of the people," Mr Mandela said.

He added the ANC leadership also knew that any decisions taken by them, including formulation of policy, were dependent on the views of the organisation's membership. The leadership knew too there was a need for self-criticism.

"We accordingly welcome the frank criticism that has been voiced during the past three days. We promise to look into all these criticisms honestly and objectively, and there are certain issues in regard to which we will have to make radical adjustments, and even changes, in the light of the criticism," Mr Mandela admitted.

"Our basic response therefore is that we accept without qualification most of the criticism that has been made against us, and we will do everything in our power to correct these mistakes," he added to loud applause.

The ANC deputy president ruled out, however, an end to "confidential discussions" between the ANC leadership and the government, as suggested by some delegates.

"There have also been statements to the effect that there should be no confidential discussions between some of us and members of the government. This statement could only be made by those who do not understand the nature of negotiations and the practical problems that face us on the ground."

There would have been no public talks between the ANC and the government if there had not been any "confidential meetings" between members of the ANC and the government, Mr Mandela said to loud applause.

"Confidential discussions, and not secret meetings," he pointed out to further applause.

"Confidential discussions we propose to continue having with the government. We are not prepared to neglect our duties as the leadership because of views, which although we respect...are totally unreasonable."

Such confidential discussions had in the past been marked by frankness on the part of the ANC, Mr Mandela added.

Joint Working Group Suspended

*MB1612174890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1725 GMT 16 Dec 90*

[By Connie Molusi]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 16 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] is to set deadlines for the government to implement joint agreements reached during negotiations so far, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, told a rally at First National Bank Stadium on Sunday [16 Dec].

Mr Mandela received sustained applause when he announced the immediate suspension of the joint working group formed between the ANC and the government after the Groote Schuur Minute.

He added that the ANC would form its own independent monitoring committee.

He said the ANC's consultative conference did not doubt negotiations, but warned the government that the organisation was not negotiating "at any price".

Mr Mandela said the ANC and the government were approaching negotiations with opposed agendas.

"The government's aim is to reform apartheid out of existence while carrying over into the future accumulated privileges and advantages of white monopoly on power. The ANC on the other hand seeks to attain the total eradication of apartheid and overcome as quickly as possible its ravages on our people," Mr Mandela said.

"These basic distinctions account for the differing directions in which we are pulling."

He said mass mobilisation and action, the underground structures of the ANC and international solidarity still constituted vital elements of the organisation's strategy.

"Equal emphasis was placed on the need to maintain the liberation movements' military capacity in peak form, not only against the possibility of someday having to resume armed actions, but also to prepare for the eventual creation of a democratic South Africa's defence force."

Accusing the government of delaying the negotiation process Mr Mandela said it was important to recognise that the government's "foot dragging as dangerous signs of a lack of commitment to peace, which only international pressure coupled with struggles waged by the oppressed can hope to change."

However, he expressed the ANC's regret that the European Community had decided to lift the ban on new investment in South Africa.

"We need to persuade the leading trading partners of apartheid South Africa about the necessity for sanctions," he added.

Mandela thanked ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo for the dedication and wisdom with which he carried the task the organisation charged him with. He said the ANC had not reached the one million mark in its membership drive and called on members to work for the growth of the organisation.

Referring on violence, Mandela said there was an organised attempt to spread mayhem and carnage to engulf the whole nation.

"The aims of those planning and directing this scourge of destruction are very clearly to destroy the prospects of peace and derail our march to freedom."

He said the government's reluctance to act against those responsible for the violence was because its own personnel was implicated.

"The people will have to assume responsibility for our own defence because the government has demonstrated its incapacity all too often," he said.

Mr Mandela called for the formation of defence committees to plan the defence of communities against vigilante attacks and also charged with the responsibilities of training and the gathering of intelligence to pre-empt attacks.

'Review' of Negotiations

*MB1612191090 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1800 GMT 16 Dec 90*

[Excerpts] The ANC's [African National Congress] consultative conference supports continued negotiations with the government, providing certain stumbling blocks are removed. However, if real progress is not made in removing these obstacles then the ANC has indicated that it will consider suspending the talks and even resume the armed struggle.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] The declaration summing up the mood of the conference indicated that the ANC would explore every possible means for a peaceful conversion to a democratic and nonracial South Africa.

Reading the declaration, the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Mr. Chris Hani, warned that the ANC's patience with the government was running out.

The ANC outlined the obstacles it wanted removed as follows: the unconditional release of all political prisoners; the return of all exiles; the repeal of all security and repressive legislation; and the termination of all political trials.

[Thabo Mbeki] The conference warned that in the event that the regime does not implement the agreement as is

the situation now concerning release of political prisoners, and in the event that the violence against the people continues, then of course the movement would review its position with regard to this matter of negotiations. [passage omitted] [end recording]

'Defensive' Actions

MB1612195990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1851 GMT 16 Dec 90

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 16 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] consultative conference resolved on Sunday [16 Dec] to set-up "tight and disciplined defence committees" as a matter of urgency as part of a coordinated mass action campaign to end violence.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation], the ANC's military wing, will play a "facilitative role in the defence of our people," the conference resolution on violence declared.

Blame for the continuing violence in South Africa, especially on the Reef where more than 1,000 people have died since August this year, was laid squarely at the feet of the government.

"The violence is multi-faceted and orchestrated through various agencies of the government viz. security forces, councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads, askaris [turned ANC guerillas] and certain bantustan and white right-wing elements. This violence is part of a counter-revolutionary strategy to maintain white rule in new forms," the resolution added.

At a press conference after the closing session of the three-day conference outside Johannesburg, MK Commander Joe Modise was asked what was meant by a "facilitative" role for MK in the defence of people.

"I think you know that it is the legitimate right of our people to defend themselves. Our people are being butchered in their homes. Conference has resolved that our people must defend themselves and naturally in that defence members of Umkhonto we Sizwe will obviously play a role. But I want to make it very clear—that role will be defensive," Mr Modise emphasised.

Mr Modise explained further: "Umkhonto we Sizwe is amongst the people. It lives amongst the people. And if the people are attacked, it means MK will also be attacked. They will defend themselves."

He added there was no question of deploying MK anywhere else, because "it lives amongst the people."

On the ANC decision, under the Pretoria Minute, to suspend armed action, he said: "As you all know the ANC National Executive Committee [NEC], on behalf of the African National Congress, took a decision on August 6 to suspend armed actions. That decision has been unanimously supported by conference, and a declaration to that effect has been made."

According to the resolution on violence: "There is no contradiction between the Pretoria Minute and our right to self-defence."

Mass action will be waged within the context of ANC demands for:

—"The removal of all obstacles to negotiations as embodied in the Harare Declaration;

—"The dismantling of the bantustans and all other apartheid structures; and,

—"An interim government and a constituent assembly."

The aim of mass action campaigns was to pressure the government to bring an end to violence—"this carnage."

The resolution also called on the NEC, regional executive committees, and branches "to initiate, as a matter of urgency, the building of tight and disciplined defence committees and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available to these structures."

Talks between the ANC and Inkatha now seem further away.

"Whilst in principle there is no opposition to talks with Inkatha and other surrogates of the regime, such talks must only take place after full consultation with all the regions of the ANC, particularly those immediately affected by the violence."

It was also decided a consultative workshop would be convened as soon as possible with the ANC's allies, the SA [South African] Communist Party and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], together with other democratic formations, to set up a joint programme of action.

"The ending of the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and the entire democratic movement."

The current violence, blamed on the government, was aimed at:

—"Undermining and destabilising the growth and consolidation of the ANC and all other democratic forces;

—"Ensuring that the government dictates the pace of transition in terms of its own agenda; and,

—"Creating a state of confusion and demoralisation in our own ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement."

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, in his final address to the conference, quashed speculation of a split between the ANC's established leadership and militant members.

"We are leaving this conference hall closer to one another than when we commenced this conference," Mr Mandela said to loud applause.

Warning of 'Armed Struggle'

MB1612192090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1855 GMT 16 Dec 90

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 16 SAPA—The first legal ANC [African National Congress] consultative conference inside South Africa in 31 years ended on Sunday [16 Dec] with a clear and militant message that unless the government removes all obstacles by April 30 next year the ANC would consider suspending the negotiations process.

The African National Congress would also consider resuming armed action of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation], if its demands were not met, ANC head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, told a press conference after the final conference session.

"Our patience with this regime is running out," the conference declaration, read at the closing session by MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani said.

"We demand that the regime removes all obstacles in the way of genuine negotiations forthwith."

Mr. Mbeki told the press: "We are very concerned at the failure of the government to implement agreements. We are very concerned at the levels of violence in the country. Depending on the activities and the actions of the government, a moment may come when we might say that we can't continue any longer with this process, in which case we would return to armed struggle."

According to a conference resolution on negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle "the National Executive Committee (NEC) serve notice on the regime that unless all the obstacles are removed on or before April 30, 1991, the ANC shall consider the suspension of the whole negotiation process. Prior to this date the ANC shall engage in a programme of mass action and all other actions, to achieve our objectives as quickly as possible," the resolution added.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela though, in his final address to the conference, emphasised the ANC was at present still committed to negotiations.

To loud applause, he said: "The overwhelming majority of our people and delegates here support the negotiations between the ANC and the government."

Spelling out the militant mood, which prevailed at the conference, Mr. Mandela added: "There have been certain suggestions made here which we fully accept, like no discussions on the Constitution until all obstacles are removed, until all exiles return; until all political prisoners are released and until all repressive legislation is repealed."

Report on Slovo Remarks

MB1612060590 Johannesburg NEW NATION
in English: 14-20 Dec 90 pp 6, 7

[Unattributed report, "Planning the Path to Power," report on interview with SACP General Secretary Joe Slovo by unidentified reporter; date and place not given]

[Text] With its unbanning in February this year and the release of its most prominent leadership, the ANC [African National Congress] entered a decisive stage in its struggle against apartheid.

Just over three months after its unbanning, it moved into a terrain of struggle untested in its 77-year history and engaged the government in talks to clear the path to negotiations. Almost eight months after the first round of talks, many obstacles still remain and it could be some months before actual negotiations get off the ground.

Whether the process of negotiations unfolds towards the desired end or not will depend largely on the ANC's approach to struggle under the new conditions.

This weekend, no less than 1,600 delegates from all corners of the country and more than 30 international ANC missions converge on Johannesburg to deliberate on crucial strategic and tactical questions.

The Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes and the various commitments binding the ANC will also come up for discussion against the backdrop of the ongoing Reef-Natal wars.

Whatever is decided will be decisive in the outcome of the process currently underway.

High up on the agenda of the historic conference will be the organisation's strategies and tactics.

While the decision to walk the path of negotiations does not constitute a departure from the strategic perspective of the ANC, which is the transfer of power, it nevertheless introduces a new element in the overall struggle.

Any new approach will therefore be informed by the process of negotiations.

While in the past the seizure of power ranked first in its list of options and negotiations only a possibility if the situation changed, the current perspective is characterised by the opposite configuration.

Being engaged in talks about talks, the ANC has accepted negotiations as a viable mechanism for the transition to a new order and sees the "seizure of power through the armed struggle or otherwise", as a possibility only if the situation changes.

Joe Slovo, ANC NEC member and SACP general secretary, says the conference will have to find a balance between negotiations and struggle.

Integral to this balance will be the particular relationship between the various pillars of the struggle, including

underground activity and the armed struggle as well as sanctions at the international level.

He explains that, whatever discussions take place on the question of strategies and tactics, they will be "infected by the process of negotiations".

"When you are sitting around the table with people, there is a new strategic element in your approach and it does influence the way in which you engage in the actual struggle outside the negotiating room.

"It has already influenced our judgement on the suspension of the armed struggle—which is one of the stark examples of how negotiations infect other levels of struggle.

"Obviously one cannot move into negotiations without affecting the strategy we are employing now," he says.

But does finding a balance between negotiations and struggle imply a scaling down of mass mobilisation? Slovo says no, and points to the escalation of mass action in recent weeks. Given calls for intensified mass action from various regions, it is almost certain that the conference will be characterised by a renewed emphasis on this.

This ANC concedes that, since the process of talks about negotiations started in May, it has not directed sufficient energies towards mass mobilisation.

Slovo says: "When you are talking to people, you tend to focus on talk—and of course there is the danger that when you are involved in talks, you tend to focus almost exclusively on talks to the point where you ignore the people.

"And, in part, this has happened," he says.

Slovo also cautions that, while the strategic objective remains the transfer of power, this will not happen through negotiations if the masses remain mute.

"At the one level, we need to negotiate, but at another level we must mobilise for mass action—in other words, we must create power behind our words. Because, if we don't we will be outmanoeuvred.

"But, of course, how we mobilise for that power is influenced by the negotiating table."

In the past, the ANC has characterised the struggle as a "protracted people's war in which general uprisings would play an important role. Led by the underground, mass and armed actions were to dovetail and merge in a process leading to the seizure of power, in which the armed element would occupy a crucial place".

Is this approach still valid in the context of the Pretoria Minute and the suspension of armed activity?

The ANC says in a discussion documented on strategy and tactics titled "Advance to National Democracy",

that the answer cannot derive solely from a belief in the integrity or otherwise of those in power.

It points out that the factors that need to be taken into account when answering this question is the extent to which the crisis in apartheid compels the government to act in good faith.

"Our capacity to deepen this crisis and ensure that those in power are dissuaded from the temptation or intention to derail the process of peaceful transition," also has to be taken into consideration.

The ANC draft paper says that the methods used by the regime and right-wing forces against the democratic movement, as well as the line-up of forces within the ruling establishment, including the police and army, will have to be taken into account.

Mass mobilisation nevertheless remains central. This is significant, especially in the context of the strengthening anti-sanctions lobby internationally and the suspension of the armed struggle internally.

Reliable on the mass of the oppressed and anti-apartheid forces remains central "in our approach to the transition (period) and to counter the schemes of defenders of white domination", the ANC says in its draft discussion document.

In as much as the victories we have scored are a consequence primarily of this approach, and to ensure that what emerges in the end reflects their basic interests, the people must be the engine of this transition...

"Negotiations do not mean that the people should be immobilised," the ANC document argues.

While the relationship between mass mobilisation and armed activity will of necessity have to change in the context of the Pretoria Minute, the ANC draft document says the organisation has a responsibility to maintain its own combat formations.

This, it says is necessary because "the enemy still has the possibility to reimpose the conditions which necessitated" the armed struggle.

"A democratic constitution still has not been agreed upon, and the regime and other forces in the country continue to maintain their own armed formations."

Slovo says he is certain that delegates coming from areas where people are being killed on a daily basis will also raise the question of the armed struggle, as well as its suspension in terms of the Pretoria Minute, for discussion at the conference.

Whether they will demand going further than simply retaining a "combat readiness", as suggested by the ANC document, and review the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes in view of the endless killings involving third force elements, remains to be seen.

The ANC has been unable to respond to calls to arm people for defence for a number of practical and political reasons, one of which is the suspension of the armed struggle in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

On whether the underground, a key component of mass mobilisation in the pre-February 2 era, should be maintained, the ANC paper says that while tasks previously conducted from the underground can now be openly carried out, the atmosphere of free political activity has yet to be fully realised. And possibilities still exist "for the reversal of the process of peaceful transition".

"In this regard, the ANC is duty-bound to maintain such underground structures as present-day conditions and future possibilities demand," the document argues. Just how these will relate to mass mobilisation and action, will have to be worked out for the new conditions.

The government, for its part, has insisted that all underground structures and military units be dismantled along with a demand that mass action cease to form part of the ANC's method of struggle.

If the draft paper is anything to go by, the ANC will emerge with a renewed emphasis on mass action as a primary method of struggle during the transition period.

The organisation says in the draft paper: "The fact that we have entered into a period of transition does not mean that the struggle has come to an end.

"The forces responsible for the apartheid system continue to pursue their own objectives, which do not originate from any mandate but their own self-seeking interests.

"A struggle is therefore inevitable between the perspectives represented by these forces and the democratic movement."

Maharaj Quits ANC National Executive in Protest

*MB1712111690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1109 GMT 17 Dec 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 17 SAPA—Mr. Mac Maharaj, a key figure in Operation Vula, has 'retired' from the ANC's [African National Congress] National Executive Committee in protest against the lack of 'practical' steps taken to secure his release after he was detained when Operation Vula was exposed.

Mr. Maharaj was absent from the stage when the consultative conference was opened on Friday and on Sunday a source inside the African National Congress revealed that he had quit.

The source said the ANC had decided not to make the resignation public at this stage.

Mr. Maharaj, who was detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, is currently out on bail of R[and]5,000.

Operation Vula, which was referred to in glowing terms by the deputy president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, on Friday, was an attempt to establish underground structures for the ANC.

Mr. Maharaj and Mr. Ronnie Kasrils, who is currently being sought by the police, were key figures in what was originally described as a 'red plot' in which South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr. Joe Slovo, was also said to be involved.

It was later shown Mr. Slovo had been out of the country when the plot was hatched.

ANC 'Diehards' Post Challenge to Moderates

*MB1612123190 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 16 Dec 90 p 2*

[Article by Dries van Heerden: "Hardline Backlash on Talks"]

[Text] Diehards in the ANC [African National Congress]—many in the military wing—this weekend issued a strong challenge to moderates in the organisation's executive.

They proposed at the ANC's consultative conference a series of hardline positions on sanctions, negotiations and violence—positions which will put the settlement process under considerable strain.

Joe Modise, commander in chief of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], told the SUNDAY TIMES there was "a growing sense of disillusionment among ordinary members at the progress made through negotiations."

The backlash yesterday forced the ANC's national executive to maintain a tough position on sanctions against South Africa in spite of an earlier call by ANC president Oliver Tambo that the issue should be re-examined.

"It was a 'bottoms-up' decision," a senior ANC member said.

There was a spontaneous rejection of a draft document advocating a "selective de-escalation" of the international economic, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa.

The hardliners were lobbying among the conference's 1,600 delegates yesterday for tough positions on a number of other issues.

"The talks with the government have not had the results we expected," Mr. Modise said.

"We will have to consider seriously whether we should continue on this road or return to other methods."

Mr. Modise, who was part of the ANC's negotiating team at the Groote Schuur summit, said he was "starting to doubt the sincerity of the government."

"While we are talking, our supporters are left defenceless against the violence perpetrated by agents of the state. They ask: 'Why can't they defend themselves? Why are we talking while our people are dying?'"

The ANC commander is still operating out of the Zambian capital, Lusaka, to keep in close touch with the approximately 22,000 ANC exiles waiting to return to South Africa—the majority of them trained members of Umkhonto.

Mr. Modise's remarks contrast with the softer approach expressed by ANC president Oliver Tambo, who reaffirmed in his first speech on South African soil in 30 years the ANC's policy on negotiations.

"If peaceful negotiations will result in the formation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, we are not only willing but ready to enter into such negotiations," Mr. Tambo said.

He added that the ANC had suspended the armed struggle "to give peace a chance, as well as indicate our serious concern for the future of the country and all its citizens."

However, he also expressed concern that supporters of the ANC had become the victims of "ferocious attacks" and slammed "the government's apparent inability to bring those responsible to book."

ANC sources said yesterday the leadership had come under a lot of flak for its decision to suspend the armed struggle and opt for negotiations. "This is not the time to make further concessions," the source said.

Hardliners insist there must be no concessions to government demands for an end to "mass actions" and recruiting for Umkhonto.

The three-day conference brings together 1,600 delegates from South Africa and abroad.

Press Reviews on Current Problems, Issues

15 December

MB1512170690

[Editorial report]

THE STAR

Political Statesmanship Now Needed—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 14 December in a page 10 editorial, in discussing South Africa's current township violence, says "the failure of leadership is lamentable." "An impression has grown that President de Klerk, Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, all aware of the political risk, are too fearful of seeking a dominant role in dealing with the endemic violence." However, "it is statesmanship and daring we need now, not political canniness."

Zimbabwean Land Nationalization 'Manifestly Unfair'—A second editorial on the same page notes

Zimbabwe's decision to nationalize white farmland and states that this is "manifestly unfair. It will create resentments and resistance that will surely damage further an already ailing economy. It will surely discourage foreign investors. It substitutes a current injustice for a historical one."

BUSINESS DAY

Zimbabwean Land Reform 'Double Blow'—President Robert Mugabe's government, with its unseemly performance on land nationalisation in parliament this week, has dealt a double blow to Zimbabwe's fading chances of becoming a prosperous democracy," opines Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English in a page 6 editorial on 14 December. "Even more damaging than the legalised takeover of white farmland on government's terms will be the exclusion of the courts from adjudicating on the fairness of its decisions. An independent judiciary is a cornerstone of democracy. Once the protection of the courts is removed from one sphere of society, erosion of the rule of law is assured." "Mugabe's government has chosen the worst possible route."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

SABC Still Favors Government—"This newspaper has taken a close look behind the scenes at the SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] television news department," states Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English on 14-19 December in a page 42 editorial. "What emerges is a picture of an organisation at best riddled by incompetence, and at worst unchanged in its devotion to twisting the news in favour of the government and against its opponents." "What is needed is not more open-mindedness or liberalism, but the creation of a more representative structure of control and the appointment of a respected management that can shake the very foundations of this ivory tower."

NEW NATION

Struggle 'Has Only Begun'—Johannesburg NEW NATION on 14-20 December in a page 6 editorial points out "We have never been so near to power and yet, so far. Although, without doubt, the [democratic] movement enjoys the popular support of the people, that alone will not assure us ultimate victory. What will assure this victory will be determined by how we use our great numbers to seal this victory. When we agreed to negotiate, we did so because we recognised that the balance of forces had shifted to the people—we need to consolidate this reality in a way that will secure us the high ground through disciplined and accountable mass action. Our people must realise that the struggle is not yet over. It has only begun."

SOWETAN

ANC Conference To Affect Nation's Future—"The African National Congress [ANC] starts its crucial consultative conference in Johannesburg today. The decisions at the conference will affect the future of this

country as the ANC is an important player in the drama unfolding here at the moment," observes Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 14 December in a page 6 editorial. "The conference has to ensure that democracy, justice and peace—the things Tambo fought for—triumph in our land."

17 December

MB1712105590

[Editorial report]

SUNDAY TIMES

ANC, NP 'Need Each Other'—Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 16 December is of the opinion that the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (NP) "need each other," and says in its page 20 editorial: "Neither side easily concedes this point. Indeed, Nelson Mandela spent much of his keynote address to the congress on Friday [14 Dec] constructing a cogent case against dealing with the South African government—only to conclude, somewhat illogically, by recommitting the ANC to a negotiated settlement." It is "true" that problems have arisen in the transition process for which "the government is to blame." But the ANC, for its part, "is victim to its own expectations and its quite remarkable inefficiency." "An ANC policy document before the congress jibes at Mandela's reference to De Klerk's integrity: 'Even "the men of integrity" go out of their way to attack the ANC at the slightest pretence'. In a showdown within the ANC, the talkers may be displaced by younger, less patient, and more violent men." To avert this "looming disaster" De Klerk and Mandela need to "move rapidly past the tiresome, snagging embrace of the operational issues and address immediately the substantive questions: the constitution, the economy and the deteriorating quality of life in the townships." Only when some "concrete results, tangible benefits" to the people in the townships and squatter camps are achieved can De Klerk hope to "still the growing murmurs in his camp and Mandela assuage the seething impatience on his left. For that they do need each other."

SUNDAY STAR

ANC Not Sole Representative of Blacks—A page 10 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 16 December notes that Mr. Mandela was "snubbed by a section of the East Rand community" when his motorcade was refused passage through Thokoza and he was barred from the local men's hostel, and threatened with violence. "The uncomradely reception its deputy president received from inmates of Thokoza hostel was another sign of the times: the ANC must accept that its aura of untouchability and mystique evaporated with its unbanning and the release from prison of its leaders." Mandela and the ANC "are not the 'sole and authentic representative' voices of the black community," as the OAU and the UN General Assembly would like to believe. The "rebuff" in Thokoza

underlines the urgency of a high-level meeting between the ANC and Inkatha. "The time for one-up-manship, such as there was, is long over."

Sanctions Remain 'Wrong'—"Whatever the merits of the ANC argument, sanctions have always been wrong and they remain wrong because they hurt the victims of apartheid as well as the perpetrators," notes a second editorial on the same page. "The hard truth is that sanctions were applied because of apartheid and will remain as long as apartheid does."

THE STAR

Benefits of Social Spending—If indeed more of next year's budget is earmarked for social spending "the positive spinoffs will be far greater than appears," declares Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 17 December in a page 10 editorial. It will not only redress the severe shortfall in black housing, education, and medical care, but "will create a better international awareness of how little the State has in the kitty for distribution to these causes." "Clearly, an injection of foreign capital—in whatever form—combined with the lifting of sanctions, will make the goal more attainable. The inability of the State's coffers to provide what is required for social spending should also help bring home to socialist-leaning parties the destructive effects of sanctions and the significant role that privatisation could play in raising additional funds for social reserves."

BUSINESS DAY

EC Decision To Lift Investment Ban 'Embarrassment' to ANC—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 17 December in a page 6 editorial says the EC's decision to lift the ban on new investment in South Africa and its promise to remove other sanctions when apartheid legislation is abolished would be "a huge boost to President de Klerk and an embarrassment to the ANC." The challenge to the ANC is becoming increasingly clear. "It can either continue with its tough approach and risk further loss of face, or it can quietly switch to a more conciliatory line and gain much of the credit for progress towards a nonracial democracy."

SOWETAN

Black Community 'Festering' With Impatience—The ANC's consultative conference "brought out the anger and impatience that is festering within the black community," declares the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 17 December. "There is a suspicion that State President F.W. de Klerk has his own agenda, 'that of retaining white domination in a new form'." The government "needs to take note of this anger and impatience," because it will take "more than handshakes between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk and statements of mutual respect to solve the problems of this country." There is a possibility that the "angry language" is used "to push the Government to act fast, but the rank and file members will be taking these demands literally." SOWETAN also warns that a united front between PAC and the ANC is a "strong possibility in the new year."

Angola

Foreign Minister Loy Discusses Washington Talks

MB1512142490 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1207 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy by unidentified reporter in Luanda on 15 December—recorded]

[Text] [Loy] As a result of the combined efforts by the two superpowers, an understanding was reached on a number of concepts. Once these concepts are included in documents currently being discussed within the framework of ongoing talks, notably the political principles, this would then permit the signing of a cease-fire at the next round of talks.

[Reporter] What are the contents of the documents [words indistinct] United States and USSR?

[Loy] There are several documents which could be included in the document on (?general) principles [words indistinct] issues of a political nature, and even issues of [words indistinct]. These are aspects that must be included in the document of political parties [words indistinct] that the two delegations have already (?dealt with) [words indistinct] specific issues in the military field, like the formation of sole army [words indistinct].

[Reporter] What about [words indistinct] cease-fire?

[Loy] We did not discuss specific issues [words indistinct] commission and government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] teams within the framework of the [words indistinct] talks because the talks held in Washington do not replace the talks that we have been holding under Portuguese mediation [words indistinct].

[Reporter] (?Can one infer) from your explanation that a cease-fire could be signed in January?

[Loy] Well, if the spirit of openness, frankness, and flexibility that UNITA seemed to possess during the exchange of views in Washington [words indistinct] we think that that was the result of a whole exercise and pressures exerted by the U.S. side and personally by Secretary of State Baker. He informed us about this exercise and pressures exerted on UNITA. So, I think we can reach a positive understanding, at least on a cease-fire.

[Reporter] Comrade Minister, in an interview with the Voice of America, you said that the secretary of state showed a lack of knowledge about the Angolan reality. What aspects (?did you have in mind)?

[Loy] Yes, we noticed that [words indistinct] in the United States. For example, he raised a fundamental question. He wanted to know whether UNITA would be allowed to take part in political activities in the country within the framework of the establishment of a multi-party system once it suspended its military activities

after the (?signing) of a cease-fire. It is evident that we have already dealt at length with this issue. What is more, it is one of the main decisions made by our congress. So, it means that [words indistinct] the Americans and everybody else.

[Reporter] Members of your delegation have met with UNITA elements. What has come out of this meeting?

[Loy] One of the fundamental goals of this exercise was to (?ensure) that all involved sides would review aspects concerning a conceptual document which was drafted jointly by the United States and the USSR, with Portugal playing some role [words indistinct] once the positions of the Angolan Government and UNITA delegations were known, there would be a broad exchange of views to facilitate the proceedings of the sixth round of talks, which could take place in the second half of January. It was within this framework that we took part in this meeting.

Comrade Lopo do Nascimento headed our delegation, and we believed that it was a very positive exercise because [words indistinct]. We exchanged views with [words indistinct] with the participation of all parties. In particular, we expressed our views in a clear and open manner. This would contribute [words indistinct] in a decisive manner for the success of the upcoming round of talks.

[Reporter] Do you think that the active participation of the two superpowers could [words indistinct]?

[Loy] We believe that it won't. We expressed this in an obvious manner. As a matter of fact, that is why I am saying that what took place in the United States was an exchange of views, a consultation among the sides, to help everything that has been carried out within the framework of the talks in Portugal. Although the meeting was only a support action, and it does not in any way replace what is being done within the framework of the talks.

[Reporter] Comrade Minister, the visit by the U.S. secretary of state to Angola that you disclosed in Washington: Is it an established fact or is it just a possibility?

[Loy] It is an established fact. Actually, it was the secretary of state himself who, let us say, indirectly requested an invitation to come to Angola. He expressed the desire to visit our country immediately after the signing of a cease-fire. We took the opportunity to invite him. Formalities will be dealt with now to extend this invitation. What is more, we believe that this will give us a chance to express views and examine fundamental principles for the beginning of relations between the People's Republic of Angola and the United States.

[Reporter] Finally, Comrade Minister, you met with the Soviet foreign minister. What's the current Soviet stand [words indistinct] on the Angolan situation?

[Loy] The Soviet stand is basically [words indistinct] evidently a new spirit of (?understanding) between the superpowers, and thus the stand must be viewed in this new spirit of (?understanding). Nevertheless, the USSR continues to be our ally [words indistinct]. What is more,

we feel that this slight change in the U.S. stand as well as in its behavior is the result of pressure by the USSR on the United States. Evidently, this must be a quid pro quo—something or a concession that the USSR is giving to the United States in situations in other parts of the world [words indistinct]. However, it is evident that we believe there is a whole series of pressures by the USSR on the United States, which is a positive thing for us.

Predicts Ceasefire 'Next Month'

*MB1412172490 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 14 Dec 90*

[Text] Angola's foreign minister has predicted a ceasefire with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] will be signed next month. Speaking in Lisbon, Pedro de Castro van Dunem said the next round of peace talks could be decisive. Those talks are scheduled for Portugal in January.

Van Dunem's optimism follows agreement by both sides on a formula for ending their 15-year civil war. But Van Dunem says the timing of such a truce, and the free elections that would follow it, still remain major obstacles.

Savimbi Says USSR Pressure on Luanda 'Key'

*MB1612154290 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 16 Dec 90*

[Text] The leader of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement of Angola, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, has told reporters in the Ivory Coast that Soviet pressure on the Angolan Government remains the key to the success of peace talks and ceasefire proposals.

He was speaking in Abidjan on his return from Washington after the highest level of discussions between UNITA and the government. The five-hour meeting on Thursday [13 Dec] was attended by representatives of the Soviet Union, which supports the Angolan Government, and the United States, which supports UNITA. Portugal also took part.

While the meeting led to hopes that a cease-fire agreement would be signed in the next three months, Dr. Savimbi told reporters that only Soviet pressure would force the Angolan Government to move more quickly towards accepting democratic elections.

Dr. Savimbi said the Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, agreed with UNITA that the Angolan Government demand for elections within three years was not a good idea, as a cease-fire might not last that long.

Discusses Washington Talks

*MB1612141390 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 16 Dec 90 p 6*

[Report by David Braun of the Foreign News Service:
"UNITA Was Willing To Sign Ceasefire, Says Savimbi"]

[Text] Washington—UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] was ready to sign a ceasefire with the Angolan government immediately provided that Luanda signed a statement of five principles agreed to by both parties in Washington this week, the rebel movement's president, Jonas Savimbi, said on Friday [14 Dec].

Dr. Savimbi said in answer to questions he could have signed the ceasefire in Washington this week if the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] had been able to formally agree to the five principles.

He said the MPLA delegation to the Washington talks—headed by Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem—had been supportive of the five principles, but he understood that it was not in a position to formally agree to them.

The Luanda government should be given time to study the principles, but he was confident it would agree formally to them, he said.

The spirit of the five principles are:

- All parties agree that Angola will be a multiparty democratic nation.
- All parties agree that the international community should guarantee a ceasefire.
- All parties agree that there should be free and fair elections in Angola monitored by the international community.
- There was agreement that the signing of a ceasefire should be preceded by agreement on a date for free and fair elections.
- And all parties agree that all outside military assistance will end upon signature of a ceasefire.

Dr. Savimbi said the Soviet Union, Portugal and the U.S., who had been represented at this week's Washington talks by senior government Ministers, had all agreed to the five principles.

He said it was important that a date for the elections in Angola be set before a ceasefire is signed, and that this date be no more than nine to 12 months after the ceasefire comes into effect.

As Dr. Savimbi was confident a ceasefire could be signed by January or February, when the MPLA and UNITA met again in Lisbon for resumption of their peace talks, he expected the elections could be held by the end of 1991.

He said it had been generally agreed that the ceasefire and elections should be monitored by a United Nations team.

Dr. Savimbi said he would be a candidate for president of Angola in the elections if his party decided to nominate him. "I am ready to go to Luanda," he said.

'Expert' Alleges MPLA Uses Chemical Weapons

MB1412141090 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1100 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] A report from Brussels quotes a Belgian toxicology expert as saying that the Angolan government used chemical weapons against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]-controlled villages earlier this month, killing dozens of people and harming hundreds.

Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, who is head of the Toxicology Department at Ghent University, says he is in regular contact with three prominent Angolan doctors, who have provided reliable information in the past.

He says the government bombed several villages near Jamba, the headquarters of the UNITA movement, in southeastern Angola on Wednesday and Thursday [5 and 6 Dec] last week. Prof. Heyndrickx who has visited Angola on several occasions, says that the government is using new mixtures of gases supplied by the Soviet Union. He says the bodies of the victims are turning black, and that is new.

Prof. Heyndrickx, who has in the past been called upon to examine victims of chemical attacks in Iran, during and after its war with Iraq, said he believed Iraq possessed the same Soviet-made weapons as those in Angola. He said he was trying to determine the chemical composition of the weapons used in Angola so that the information might be used if war should break out in the Persian Gulf.

German Aid Official on Effect of Peace Corridors

MB1712085090 (Clandestine) KUP in English to
Southern and Central Africa 0615 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Jamba, Sat. December 15.....[Dateline as received]—A German humanitarian relief organisation currently involved in helping famine victims in the drought-stricken areas of southern Angola has expressed satisfaction with the peace corridor project.

Speaking in an interview on the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] radio station yesterday, transport manager of the Bonn-based "Hilfe in Not" ["Help in Need"] Foundation, Mr. Guido Schmitz Krummacher, said that the creation of the peace corridors to enable international relief organisations send in food aid to famine victims was a very important initiative which would probably save thousands of Angolans from starving.

Mr. Krummacher, who was in the UNITA-controlled areas of Angola affected by famine, said that his organisation was determined to do everything in order to help the international food relief program for Angola succeed.

Comoros*** Air Links to South Africa Reestablished**

91AF0244A Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION in
French 26 Oct 90 p 3

[Text] Air links between South Africa and the Comoros will be reestablished on 2 March 1991, it was announced by the director of South African Airways (SAA), Gert van der Veer.

Mr. van der Veer made the announcement at a ceremony attended by the Republic of the Comoros' minister of tourism, transportation, urban planning and housing, Said Ali Youssouf, who was in South Africa last week.

SAA had halted flights to Moroni on 4 August following the departure of the South African tourism company, Sun International. The company had decided to pull out of the Comoros as a result of a slowdown in tourist visits after the Comoran president, Ahmed Abdallah, was assassinated on 26 November 1989, and control of the archipelago was seized by a group of mercenaries led by the Frenchman Bob Denard.

The resumption of SAA's flights to Moroni is part of a revitalization of the archipelago's tourism industry.

World Leisure—a company headed by the South African magnate Sol Kerzner—and Sun's replacement, announced on Wednesday that it plans to invest 6 million rand (more than 12 million French francs) to modernize the Comoros' two main hotels that it will also manage.

In a brief speech, the Comoran minister stated that the reopening of these two hotels would directly create 500 new jobs. In his view, he said, tourism could rapidly become the primary component of the archipelago's gross national product.

Mr. van der Veer announced that SAA will offer one flight a week on Saturdays, for which it will use an Airbus aircraft.

Mozambique**Captured Rebels Allegedly Trained in Kenya**

MB1712085890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0827 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Maputo Dec 17 SAPA—A group of captured Mozambican Renamo (MNR) [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels have allegedly revealed that the Kenyan Government is helping them with training near Nairobi.

The rebels were recently captured by Zimbabwean forces at a base called Mkatini. A SAPA correspondent in Mozambique reports the captured rebels told Zimbabwean army officers that the Kenyan Government was helping them with training somewhere outside the capital, Nairobi.

The Kenyan Government recently denied a report in the London daily, THE INDEPENDENT, that MNR rebels were trained in that country.

THE INDEPENDENT alleged that after completing training, the rebels are flown to Malawi from where they are deployed in Tete Province in Mozambique.

The Kenyan trained rebels are known as "Israel Commandos" and reputed to be well-trained in guerrilla warfare. According to an officer in Zimbabwe's elite Sixth Brigade, the rebels put up a strong fight before being captured.

Namibia

Nujoma Warns 'Unpatriotic Elements' in Speech

MB1412101590 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN
in English 11 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "President Gets Tough"]

[Text] Namibian President Sam Nujoma yesterday issued a stern warning to all right-wing elements who appeared intent on not accepting Namibia's independence and were instead undermining the government's efforts to build a new and peaceful nation.

In his second 'get tough' speech in two days, Nujoma lashed out at "unpatriotic elements" who, directly or indirectly, wanted to destabilise Namibia's fledgling democracy.

Criminals who were committing "economic sabotage," former members of the South African-led security forces and sections of the press, which Nujoma accused of a "disinformation onslaught," were among those on the receiving end of the President's anger.

"We mean business when we say we want peace and stability because we cannot develop if we are fighting among ourselves," President Nujoma said.

The President's strongly-worded statement was made at the commemoration of Old Location Day, which led directly to Namibia's liberation struggle. On December 10, 1959, 12 Namibians were killed by the South African colonial authorities while protesting their forced removal from the Old Location to Katutura.

Shortly afterwards Nujoma and other SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leaders went into exile from where they led the country's struggle for freedom, which included a 23-year-long bush war against SA [South African]-led security forces.

Yesterday, the President, his patience seemingly wearing thin over the abuse of the policy of national reconciliation which he has been at pains to stress, said there were apparently Afrikaans and German elements who had misunderstood national reconciliation and unity.

"If you misunderstood the policy, please understand clearly ... if you make a mistake we will deal with you," he warned those "harbouring illusions of destabilising" Namibia.

Nujoma also had strong words for former SWATF [South-West African Territory Force] and Koevoet [police counterinsurgency unit] members who were leaving or had left Namibia for either South Africa or Angola.

The President pointed out that SA-led military units who withdrew from Namibia last year took with them Namibians who were being used to kill South Africans fighting for their freedom.

"What a sad history," he added, "... that our country produced such unpatriotic elements to go and join the fascists in South Africa, the minority whites, to kill the South Africans who are fighting for their rights," Nujoma said.

It was a shame that Namibians should join up with the SADF [South African Defense Force] in Natal to side with Inkatha in their fight against ANC [African National Congress] activists.

The President further hit out at a certain Walvis Bay-based lawyer who had the audacity to make subversive statements concerning Namibia, while "the very same lawyer" had a farm in Namibia which was guarded by Namibian Police Force members.

In the same breath, Nujoma issued a strong warning to the founder of the former notorious police paramilitary unit, General Hans Dreyer.

He said Dreyer was with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence] leader Jonas Savimbi at the movement's Jamba headquarters in southern Angola and that the former Koevoet man was prepared to invade Namibia.

The President scorned reports that former SWATF and Koevoet members were in Angola because they had been "terrorised" by Namibian border guards.

He pointed out these elements had crossed the border not only while the United Nations was still in Namibia, but under the previous DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance]-led interim government.

Dreyer, he continued, was a "fascist of the first order" and had been a key figure in Ian Smith's Rhodesian forces which fought against Zimbabwean patriots.

Nujoma also noted that there were racists who, "when they drink in dark corners in bars ... insult us from top to bottom."

"I want to tell them the day God leaves them and Satan comes near them, they will feel it," he said to much laughter, apparently referring to insults made among some rightwingers that the President himself was Satan.

Turning to the alleged murder of civilians in northern Namibia by Angolan rebels, Nujoma said the government would reserve the right to adopt a hot pursuit policy.

On another subject close to his heart - crime - the President issued a "final warning" to criminal elements who he said were committing economic sabotage. He urged farmers whose cattle were being stolen to take the necessary steps to protect their property.

"Let us unite, work together and defend our country so we will not experience again a massacre like this one," he said, pointed to the grave of the 12 people killed in 1959.

"Let us be ready to defend our country. The aggressor must feel the pinch of our bullets."

Government To Donate R1 Million to ANC

*MB1412152690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1511 GMT 14 Dec 90*

[By Carmen Honey]

[Text] Windhoek Dec 14 SAPA—The Namibian Government is to donate R[and]1 million to the African National Congress [ANC] in South Africa, Prime Minister Hage Geingob said on Friday.

He told a media briefing in Windhoek the Namibian Government fully supported the efforts being made in South Africa to find a peaceful end to apartheid.

"We continue to hope that in the new year the negotiations between the ANC of South Africa and the government of State President (F.W.) de Klerk will be carried

on with added vigour and lead to an early resolution of the conflict," the prime minister said.

The Namibian Government felt that the ANC, as the leading force in negotiations with the SA [South African] Government, should be better equipped financially to effectively and meaningfully negotiate with Mr. de Klerk.

"The independence that we enjoy in Namibia today is the product of international solidarity and we owe it to the rest of the international community to show the same solidarity to the ANC," Mr. Geingob said.

Reunion

*** Visa Requirements for RSA Abolished**

*91AF0242A Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION
in French 26 Oct 90 p 3*

[Text] Reunion's tourism officials are devoting the utmost of attention to the island's South African clientele.

In September, Reunion's officials decided no longer to require visas for short stays.

Prior to that, South African tourists had to wait several weeks before being granted a visa for a stay in Reunion.

Last year, only 884 South African tourists vacationed on the highly scenic island. Reunion officials hope to draw 5,000 South African tourists a year, as an initial goal.

By comparison, it should be noted that Mauritius welcomes an average of slightly more than 30,000 South African tourists every year.

Ivory Coast

SA's Villiers Comments on Presidential Meeting

AB1512120690 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1930 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Today President Felix Houphouet-Boigny received a South African delegation at his Cocody private residence. The delegation was led by Dr. de Villiers, minister of mineral and energy affairs and public enterprises. During the audience, discussions centered on the political reform process in South Africa, according to Mr. de Villiers:

[Begin recording] [De Villiers, in English with simultaneous French translation] I would like to say that we highly respect President Houphouet-Boigny, who is one of the greatest and best known leaders in Africa and around the world. We first discussed the policy of dialogue which President Houphouet-Boigny initiated with South Africa a long time ago. This policy has yielded a lot of results, and now many world leaders realize that President Houphouet-Boigny was right. He has contributed to the ongoing changes in South Africa. Now we are prepared not just to follow up this policy of dialogue but also to enhance our cooperation. In this connection, we discussed our bilateral relations.

[Unidentified reporter] How much has been achieved now through the current dialogue in South Africa?

[De Villiers] Major changes have been effected in South Africa since last year. Apartheid itself has been eradicated, and its remnants will be scrapped following the first session of the South African Parliament next year. The way has been paved for the leaders of all South African political movements to hold negotiations for a new constitution for the country. We are confident that these negotiations will be fruitful next year. [end recording]

Savimbi Interviewed; Says Peace 'Closer'

AB1612180090 Abidjan Television Ivoirienne
Network in French 2000 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Interview with Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, by reporter Levy Niamkey in Abidjan on 15 December—recorded]

[Text] [Savimbi] We went to the United States at the invitation of U.S. Secretary of State Baker to review the situation in negotiations and to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze because for some time now we have deemed it right that there should be a more physical commitment on the part of the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. That is why we went to Washington. We also wanted to show that the outcome was positive.

[Niamkey] What is the actual situation? It seems both sides want a solution, but reports reaching us are somewhat uncertain because of what is happening. What is the actual situation on both sides?

[Savimbi] First I think we can put our finger on the political situation. The Angolan people are tired of war, and the Armed Forces of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] and UNITA are tired. We have been fighting for 15 years, and today everybody wants peace. That is one achievement. Second, we have noticed that the MPLA has just ended the third congress of their party where they all agreed that instead of continuing to govern the country with only one party, they should accept the multiparty system. So this time it is official. All this shows that little by little the desire to have a democratic society is becoming clear.

Also, the MPLA now understands that a military solution to the Angolan conflict is not possible. Both of us, UNITA and MPLA, know that those who support us, the Russians and the Americans, will not continue to support us for ever. On the MPLA side, the East Europe bloc is already gone, and the Soviets are gradually reducing their supplies. On our side, we know that the U.S. Congress, which has been supporting us until now, had to debate hard this year, but finally the debate ended in our favor.

It is not just that; there is still one important point. The Angolan people are beginning to hold us responsible for the war, but nobody wants to be held responsible for the war by the people. That is why, I think, little by little we are beginning to have the desire, both on the part of the MPLA and on our part, to negotiate seriously to end the war. I think these are very important elements.

[Niamkey] One last question which is quite simple but which appears very important. In view of all that you have said, do you think it is really possible to have peace in Angola today?

[Savimbi] I think peace is not only possible, but it is closer. After the talks we had in Washington, where the MPLA and UNITA participated at the highest level for the first time, the delegation of the Luanda government was led by Lopo do Nascimento, who is a member of the Political Bureau and the main political adviser to the president. He is the one who will lead future MPLA delegations to negotiations. The vice president led our side. Ambassador (Yuriy Karlov) was there for the Russians, and Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, was present for the U.S. On the Portuguese side, (Duarte Montero) assistant to the minister and mediator, was present.

The meeting lasted for five hours, and in five hours we were actually able to cover areas which we had not been able to cover during the five meetings we held in Portugal. The five points we agreed upon are: recognizing political parties, the cease-fire, forming a single national army, the date for elections—which should (be used) to limit the period between the cease-fire and elections—

and international supervision of both the elections and the cease-fire. We discussed these points, and everybody agreed on them. If we did not sign any paper on it it is simply because the MPLA delegation wanted to consult its president, who was not a neutral observer; he participated in the debate and he agreed upon it. So all this is encouragement to us. With the intervention of the Soviets and Americans, peace is not only possible, it is closer.

Liberia

Sawyer Talks on Cease-Fire, Departs for Nigeria

AB1612120890 *Monrovia Radio ELBC in English*
0900 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Liberia's interim president, Dr. Amos Sawyer, at the head of a 12-man delegation, left the capital, Monrovia, yesterday for Lagos, Nigeria, upon the invitation of the Nigerian president, Ibrahim Babangida. Dr. Sawyer told ELBC news shortly before departure that he will be conferring with President Babangida. According to him, his government is maintaining periodic discussions with the Nigerian leader and the heads of state of other ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African states] member states.

The Liberian leader is expected to travel next week to Banjul, The Gambia, for cease-fire talks. He expects a very productive session in Banjul, he said, adding: Questions relating to the technical details about the cease-fire among Liberia's warring parties would be worked out. He hopes that the process of [word indistinct] being pursued as a result of the signing of the Bamako cease-fire agreement would also be consolidated in Banjul. Dr. Sawyer noted that in spite of intermittent skirmishes, the cease-fire is holding. The parties that are involved are doing their best to keep the cease-fire.

Included in the president's delegation to Nigeria and Gambia are Mr. Bacchus Matthews, Dr. Edward Kesselly, and Dr. James T. Tarpeh. Seeing the president off was Vice President Bishop, Ronald Diggs, the Nigerian envoy to Liberia, His Excellency Ambassador Abraham Tukur, the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] chief of staff, Brigadier (Musa Damayie), and members of the interim government. It is not known how long the president and party will be away from Liberia.

Meanwhile a member of the presidential delegation, Mr. Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, has said it is hoped that where there are political hindrances which may influence the cease-fire discussions in Banjul, interim president Dr. Sawyer's presence will help to overcome those hindrances. Mr. Matthews told ELBC news before departure it is hoped that opportunities will exist for a continuing dialogue on a political settlement to the Liberian situation.

All three warring parties—the National Patriotic Front, the Independent National Patriotic Front, and the Armed Forces of Liberia—are expected to attend the Banjul meeting of the ECOWAS mediation committee. The three warring parties recently signed a cease-fire agreement in Bamako, Mali.

Military Stockades No Longer Used for Detention

AB1412213290 *Monrovia Radio ELBC in English*
0900 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Military stockades in Liberia are no longer to be used for the detention of civilians. This decision was contained in a directive issued recently by the president of the Interim Government of National Unity, Dr. Amos Sawyer, when he paid a visit to the Barclay Training Center. The Liberian interim president said his government is going to ensure that civilians convicted of crime will also be entitled to decent treatment as they serve their sentence. He stressed the need to uphold the fundamental rights of every Liberian citizen, adding the due process of law must be given a chance in Liberia.

The interim president's statement coincides with the recent worldwide celebrations marking the 42d anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It will be recalled that on 10 December 1948, Liberia joined ranks with other nations of the world to sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Factions To Discuss Implementing Cease-Fire

AB1512192090 *Paris AFP in English* 1528 GMT
15 Dec 90

[Text] Banjul, Dec 15 (AFP)—Liberia's three rival factions will meet here next week to discuss implementation of a ceasefire agreement they signed last month, an informed source said here Saturday. The meeting Thursday and Friday will gather representatives of Charles Taylor's rebel National Patriotic Front, which controls most of the West African country, Prince Johnson's rival rebel faction and the Liberia Army. But the source was unable to say whether the leaders of each faction would come to the meeting.

Gambian President Dawda Jawara chairs the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has deployed troops in Liberia to enforce a ceasefire and installed an interim government in the Liberian capital Monrovia.

Mr. Taylor personally signed the ceasefire in Mali on November 28, but has opposed ECOWAS intervention in Liberia and refuses to recognize the interim administration led by Liberian academic and constitutional expert Amos Sawyer. Reliable sources said Saturday that Mr. Sawyer and the commander of the West African troops in Liberia, Nigerian General Joshua Dogonyaro, would take part in next week's talks here.

Niger

Ministers Meet Deby, Comment on Refugees

AB1512095090 Niamey Domestic Service in French
0545 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] The ministers of interior and foreign affairs and cooperation returned to Diffa yesterday afternoon following a working visit lasting a few hours to Nguigmi and Ndjamena. Abou Ali, what was the purpose of their visit?

[Ali] Ministers Tandja Mamadou and Sani Bako, who were accompanied by the deputy chief of staff and the prefect of Diffa, went to brief the Chadian refugees and the people of Nguigmi on the outcome of their talks with the new Chadian president, Colonel Idriss Deby. These talks touched essentially on the return of the refugees to their country and on the question of security along the Niger-Chad border.

Speaking in turn, Ministers Tandja Mamadou and Sani Bako told the refugees that conditions are ripe now for a smooth return to their country. The new Chadian authorities in general, and President Deby in particular, have pledged their commitment to ensure the physical safety of all Chadians who left their country in the wake of the recent events. At the same meeting, two envoys of President Deby who arrived by road in Nguigmi yesterday told the refugees' representatives that there would be no witch hunting in Chad. President Deby and his aides stand for national reconciliation and have, for this reason, taken measures to guarantee the security of citizens and their property, they said.

Soon after this meeting, the ministers of interior and foreign affairs met with the representatives of the population of Nguigmi. After briefing them on the outcome of their talks with the new Chadian authorities, the two ministers called on all to be patient and vigilant and to report to the administrative authorities or traditional rulers any acts likely to disrupt law and order.

Nigeria

Babangida on West's Reparation to Africa

AB1512073090 Dakar PANA in English 1123 GMT
14 Dec 90

[Text] Lagos, 14 Dec. (NAN/PANA)—Nigeria Thursday made a strong case for reparation to Africa through debt forgiving and total debt write-offs and a Marshall Plan to compensate the continent for the centuries of abuse and neglect. In an address to the opening of a two-day world conference on reparation to Africa and Africans in the diaspora, Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida called on all the countries of Europe and the Americas to compensate Africa for the untold hardship and exploitation that the continent had been subjected to in the past. The political struggle has been largely fought and won; what we need now is economic freedom, he said.

We make these demands because services of our forefathers in the American plantations were unrewarded and unpaid for. We make these demands because the exploitation of Africa during the period of colonial rule further impoverished us and enhanced the development of the West, the president declared in the address on his behalf by the vice president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu.

He noted that the demands were also in the interest of mankind because when humanity suffers a little, somewhere all humanity suffers a little. The time to make a fresh start is now, and Europe and America must redress the imbalance in their relation with Africa and Africans, Babangida said. He urged the descendants of the oppressors and the oppressed to open a new chapter based on mutually rewarding and beneficial relationships.

He described the granting of independence to African states as nothing more than a tactical political concession, while the economic exploitation and externally triggered civil wars continue on the continent. The president said that since 1945, the world had witnessed attempts to redress the grievances of at least the Jews, if not the Arabs, but not those of Africa. We Africans, both at home and in diaspora, had again to fight against great odds to secure the rights which had been solemnly promised to everyone, he said.

He pointed out that when the Marshall Plan for the economic regeneration of Europe was put in place, we who had been victims of European colonialism expected in vain a plan that would lead to the joint development of Africa as was the case of Europe.

For their part, Babangida urged Africans at home and in the diaspora to pool resources to advance the cause of their race. We must begin to appreciate our relative weakness vis-a-vis other races, the president said, adding that the only way forward is to support ourselves in whatever we do.

Babangida called on blacks to invest in businesses run by fellow blacks at home and in the diaspora. He also recommended that Africans in the new world (diaspora) should, if possible, enjoy dual citizenship of whatever African country they decided to adopt as their home country.

The president estimated that between 10 million and 30 million Africans were forcibly transported out of Africa into slavery, noting that the victims were mainly young and virile Africans, the very class on whom the development of the continent would have devolved. He said the colonial barrier between Africans at home and those in diaspora should also be dismantled for a full integration of the African economy.

We must overcome the fissiparous tendencies that seem to undermine Africa's inexorable march toward greater unity, Babangida said. We Africans are not seeking to dominate anybody, nor are we going to allow anybody to dominate us. What we seek is (equal) partnership with other people, he said.

Diplomats, statesmen and other dignitaries, mainly of African descent, are attending the conference which is part of activities marking the 10th anniversary of the Concord Group of Nigerian Newspapers.

Meets With Sawyer

AB1712111090 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 17 Dec 90

[From the "African News"]

[Text] The leader of the interim government in Liberia, Mr. Amos Sawyer, is reported as saying he is confident that representatives of the main rebel group in Liberia will join his administration. Mr. Sawyer said that negotiations to this end will take place in Gambia later this month. Mr. Sawyer was speaking in Nigeria after talks with President Ibrahim Babangida. The official media quoted him as saying that the negotiations with Mr. Taylor's rebels to join him in Monrovia were delicate, but well under way. Mr. Sawyer went on to say that the cease-fire between the warring factions in Liberia was still being respected.

Party Leaders Interviewed on Election Results

AB1512082090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 13 Dec 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Excerpts] The results are now officially in of [as heard] Nigeria's local elections, the first dual party poll under the Constitution that will take the country back to civilian rule in 1992. There was much controversy preceding them, particularly over the use of the queue voting system and the possibility of the massive logistical operation breaking down. But things apparently went well, and the chairman of the Electoral Commission, Humphrey Nwosu, who announced the results today, seemed very satisfied with the way they had gone. [passage omitted]

So Alhaji Kingibe of the Social Democratic Party is the victor in this round of Nigeria's elections, and not surprisingly, when Robin White called him up, he had difficulty concealing his pleasure.

[Begin recording] [Kingibe] Well I cannot say that I am totally dissatisfied. It is a resounding victory our party has scored.

[White] Were you happy with the conduct of the elections?

[Kingibe] Oh by and large. By and large the elections were I think probably the most beautiful in the electoral history of this country.

[White] What about your political opponents: Do you think they will be so sanguine about it?

[Kingibe] I think that you should ask them. I suggest that you do not ask them now, because in the heat of electoral defeat, you do not expect anybody to be sanguine.

[White] But there was no skullduggery on your behalf?

[Kingibe] Good Lord no! We are the Social Democratic Party, you know.

[White] Do you think this result will be narrowed in future elections?

[Kingibe] I do not expect exactly the same pattern to be mirrored because we shall be working between now and the next elections to consolidate and expand our base and support. I expect that in the next elections we will show even a wider margin of victory. [end recording]

Alhaji Kingibe of Nigeria's Social Democratic Party. Well, we ignored his advice not to contact the loser, Chief Ikimi of the National Republican Convention, and here is Chief Ikimi's reaction.

[Begin recording] [Ikimi] We are very pleased indeed with the result. The result we have received shows that the Social Democratic Party has won 232 chairmanship seats in the council elections, and we have 206 seats. There are about 20 to be declared. We find that we have a national spread. We have won more than 25 percent in every state in Nigeria. We are indeed very pleased. We accept the results as they are, and we have sent a letter of congratulations to the Social Democratic Party for their performance in this election.

[White] But you have come in second, sir.

[Ikimi] We have 206 seats, they have 232 seats, and we accept the results.

[White] I have just been talking to Mr. Kingibe, and he said that his party was now on a roll and would certainly win future elections including national elections. Would you agree with him?

[Ikimi] I am in a position to tell you that the National Republican Convention will produce the president of this country in 1992 and that we will win the majority of the governorship elections at the end of 1991. You may come back to me at that time, and you may play back this tape to show that what I have said is not empty boast. [end recording]

Chief Ikimi of Nigeria's National Republican Convention.

Senegal

* Election Code 'Favors' PS; Inequality Hit

91AF0265B Dakar SUD HEBDO in French
4 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by Ibrahima Fall]

[Text] Controversies are rarely as lively as those surrounding the electoral code developed by President Abdou Diouf in 1982 to replace the electoral law that had been in effect since 1977. The latter had been quite sharply denounced by the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) even though in the 1978 legislative elections it allowed the party to carry 18 seats out of 100 in Parliament. The main opposition party has never been able to

repeat that exploit. Its poor performances in the 1983, 1984, and 1988 elections are blamed on an electoral code considered antidemocratic not only by the opposition but also by large sectors of civil society who believe that that document is not, in its present form, a clear and honest election instrument, and cannot promote the administrative change that is the major virtue of a democracy. From being merely antidemocratic, the Electoral Code has become dangerous with the creation of discontentment and frustration on the part of parties believed to be engaged in acts of violence weighing heavily on a country that boasts of being a prime example of collaborative democracy.

For some time the Socialist Party [PS] and some of its supporters have tended to ridicule the opposition's demands for reform of the Electoral Code. It has even been written that their demands, which are in truth quite numerous, are in fact based on only a matched pair, to use a term dear to racegoers: optional attendance at the voting booth, and party representation throughout the electoral process. The latter involves the status of candidates from parties considered to be no more than mere observers, "ejectable" for the slightest infraction, by the president of the polling station charged with policing them; and access of the parties to the tabulation results of the polling stations. (The official proclamation is based upon total results; after the last elections, the daily *LE SOLEIL* promised to publish the results, station by station, to demonstrate the honesty of the elections. We are still waiting.) One can also cite the sharp inequality of media airtime, with the party in power reserving half for itself alone, the other half being shared by the entire opposition in the legislative elections. In the municipal elections there is no airtime at all. Parties must take responsibility for their own advertising costs, and make their voting leaflets and election posters themselves. Certainly a unique case in the world. Until the 1988 contest, an identity card was not even required to vote. With the introduction of the voting card, one could vote at will, from station to station. Paid foreigners and minors did not even wait to be asked to perform this "civic" act. And even now potential fraud has not been totally eliminated because voter identification is not required except in communities of 5,000 inhabitants or more. Election by majority, the norm for municipal elections (legislative elections are proportional by department), is particularly frustrating for large minorities, who lead if they are not beaten by even so much as half a point, in which case they cannot be represented in the municipal or rural councils, which are necessarily monolithic and monocolored. The last straw for the administration of local affairs, which often has little influence on national battles.

Optional attendance at the voting booth is supported by defenders of the system as a tradition, according to which a voter does not hide his political ties. In truth, these traditions are only arranged or called upon to come to the aid of a cursory argument, even though the norm called for by everyone is modernization. Thus, during

the PS' summer university [sessionz] President Iba Der Thiam was clear: if voting had been optional in the 1914 legislative elections, Blaise Diagne would have been defeated. Added to this is the fact that the Constitution allows only a secret ballot. One responds that "the secret" should be defined by law. Can this latter, whatever it is, be above the Constitution? And the voting age? In a country where youth have played an essential role in the maturing of the political system, notably through their partisan activities during the 1988 elections, and where the Chief of State declares his 50th birthday to be a sign of youthfulness, it is at least paradoxical that the voting age remain 21 while the penal age is 18. Not to mention the precocity of today's youth.

The adage says it well: "If you are not going forward, you are going backward." In managing its accomplishments in a conservative, if not an outmoded manner, Senegal is being overtaken by old African monarchies endowed at the institutional level with laws permitting the illusion of democracy that is not selective, a la carte democracy. In our giddiness we forget that Botswana is a prime example of modern democracy and that Mauritius has experienced a change in administration through the ballot box. And, as if to confirm the consubstantial correlation between democracy and development, those two countries have in recent years achieved the most remarkable economic performances on the continent.

*** One Head, Platform Urged for Opposition 'Nine'**

91AF0265A Dakar *WAL FADJRI* in French
19-25 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by Abdourahmane Camara; first paragraph is *WAL FADJRI* introduction]

[Text] The Group of 9 can pat itself on the back: its first meeting on the boycott campaign was a success. But it should take precautions with the dissonant note struck by Majhmout Diop's PAI [African Independence Party] in taking the leadership debate public.

"To be credible, the opposition needs a head," that is, a leader speaking and acting in everyone's name. And the old leadership debate that the Group of 9 thought they had buried to await a more propitious time rose again at the 13 October meeting of the National Coordinative Body of CONACPO [National Conference of Opposition Party Leaders] youth. Given, however, the assembly's reactions to PAI youth leader Samba Diallo's proposal, it can be said that they expressed the concern of most CONACPO militants and sympathizers to the extent that they subscribe to an idea dear to the heart of secretary general Majhmout Diop.

According to Samba Diallo, the PAI is also included in his criticism: CONACPO needs a sufficiently coherent and credible short- and medium-term plan, rather than contenting itself to react in lockstep to the majority party. The Group of 9's total revision of its battle strategy appears to be the only means of reliably gaining

youth support, Mr. Diallo seems to think. "If that is done, the young people will be behind you," he said, in concluding his address to the party heads present at the meeting. None of the speakers following him to the podium judged it opportune to return to the fundamental debate thus raised. Whether because the occasion did not appear appropriate, or because in their understanding it was not the youth organization's role to discuss an issue of exclusive relevance to the leaders.

Among the latter, certain of them believe it to be a false debate. First, it involves unified action that thus presupposes a collegiality in the taking of group decisions. Then as a result of that collegiality, one leader believes, "we have until now been able to avoid degenerating into making shallow reactions or taking decisions by being beaten over the head, and our collaboration could not be healthier." Despite the time lost in discussions lasting longer than usual, and the slowness of the decision making.

New Policy

Returning to the 13 October meeting, it did not completely address the hopes of a number of sympathizers who traveled there to attend despite the heat. First, the majority of speeches were confined to reciting the list of grievances one is accustomed to hearing from the opposition, while never touching upon the essential points. It was certainly good to explain the meaning of the municipal and rural

boycotts of 25 November, but it was also necessary to issue the command for mass removal of the election posters and to explain why. What was actually accomplished? After all the youth leaders had spoken, the speaker remembered that no one had alluded to the election posters, and he surreptitiously passed the message.

It should be added that those responsible for organizing the meeting did not think of inviting to the podium the CONACPO leaders, who except for Abdoulaye Wade, Mody Diagne, and Landing Savane were all present. An intervention on their part, in their first public appearance since the active boycott of the municipalities was decreed, would no doubt have had considerable impact on understanding and support for the decision by those numerous attendees still remaining skeptical. To be convinced once and for all, these latter must now await the meeting of the Group of 9 leaders at Pikine next 28 October.

The major accomplishments of the 13 October meeting? It brought together hundreds of people despite the state media's refusal to publish the communiques released to its respective branches by the organizers. In addition, the Minister of the Interior did not believe it to be useful to deploy his security forces, who apparently remained in their barracks. Is this a sign of a new policy Mr. Famara Sagna is inaugurating with respect to demonstrations by the opposition?

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